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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD  
TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF  
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES\*

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TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

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\* This document contains the chapter on Territories under Portuguese administration. The general introductory chapter will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/5446. Other chapters will be issued later in addenda.

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## TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

### A. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES

#### I. THE TERRITORIES IN GENERAL

##### General

1. The Territories under Portuguese administration comprise the Cape Verde Archipelago; Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea; São Tomé Príncipe and their dependencies; Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda; Mozambique; Macau and dependencies; and Timor and dependencies. These Territories cover an area of approximately 800,900 square miles (2,074,000 square kilometres) and have over 12 million inhabitants. The area of Portugal itself is 35,500 square miles (91,900 square kilometres) and in 1960 it had a population of 9,134,000.

##### Status

2. Until 1951, these Territories were listed as colonies in the Portuguese Constitution. The basic principles of government and administration of these Territories were laid down in the Colonial Act of 1930 and were further developed in the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire of 1933 and in the Overseas Administration Reform Act of 1933.

3. When the Constitution was revised in 1951, the Colonial Act was abolished and its main provisions were incorporated in the Constitution under a chapter entitled "Overseas Portugal". Henceforth, the overseas "Territories" were to be known as "Provinces". The Organic Charter of 1933 was replaced by the Overseas Organic Law of 27 June 1953, although its main provisions were unchanged. With some modifications the Overseas Administration Reform Act of 1933 remains in force.

4. The General Assembly, by resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960 considered that these Territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

Government<sup>1/</sup>(i) Central Government

5. The organs of the central Government which are directly concerned with the Territories are the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the Minister for Overseas Portugal and, on occasion, other individual Ministers.

6. The National Assembly consists of 130 members, sixteen of whom represent the Territories. Territorial representation is as follows:

Cape Verde	2
Guinea	1
São Tomé and Príncipe	1
Angola	7
Mozambique	3
Macau	1
Timor	1

7. The National Assembly has the right to legislate for the Territories on matters such as defence, currency, the creation of banks and the judicial system. The Assembly may also legislate on the general system of government of the Territories. In addition, the Assembly is concerned with the year-by-year consideration of the accounts of these Territories.

8. The central Government has legislative powers for the Territories when, under the terms of the Constitution, it has by decree to take action affecting the whole national territory; it may also legislate by executive measures on questions of common concern both to metropolitan Portugal and to one or more of the Territories.

9. The powers of the Minister for Overseas Portugal are defined as extending over "all matters which affect the higher or general interests of the nation's overseas policy, or those common to more than one province". Among other things, he is responsible for drawing up the "politico-administrative" statute

<sup>1/</sup> For a more comprehensive description of the governmental, administrative and judicial structure see the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 54, document A/5160, paras. 44-119; see also A/AC.108/L.6.

of each individual Territory, though he must consult the Overseas Council and the Legislative Council, where one exists, or, if not, the Government Council of the Province.

(ii) Territorial Government

10. The Territories are normally governed by special legislation passed by the competent bodies in Portugal and the Territories themselves.

11. According to the Constitution, all matters of exclusive concern to an "Overseas Province" and outside the scope of the powers exercised by the National Assembly, the Government or the Minister for Overseas Portugal shall be dealt with by the legislative bodies of the "Overseas Provinces".

12. Under the Overseas Organic Law, the "Overseas Provinces" are classified into two groups: (a) those with a Governor-General, i.e., Angola and Mozambique; and (b) those with a Governor, namely Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Macau and Timor.

13. In Territories belonging to the first group, the organs of government are the Governor-General, the Legislative Council and the Government Council. The Legislative Council in these Territories is composed of elected and nominated members, as set out in the Statute of the Territory. In addition to its legislative powers, the Legislative Council discusses and expresses an opinion on matters presented to it by the Governor-General or the Minister for Overseas Portugal. It may be dissolved by the Minister in the national interest. The Government Council, which is a standing consultative body, comprises the secretaries and the Secretary-General, the Military Commander, the Attorney-General, the Director of Economic Services and two members nominated by the Governor-General.

14. The organs of government in the second group of Territories are the Governor and the Government Council. When the Government Council is not in session, there is a permanent standing committee. The Government Council is consulted by the Governor in the exercise of his legislative powers. It also makes regulations for the implementation of existing legislation.

15. The Governor, or the Governor-General, is the supreme authority in the Territories. He represents the Portuguese Government and possesses legislative

and executive powers. He is appointed by the Council of Ministers, on the recommendation of the Minister for Overseas Portugal, and has a four-year term of office. The powers of the Governor and the Governor-General, which include both executive and legislative powers, are defined in the Statute of each Territory.

Status of the inhabitants

16. Until 1961 the Native Statute of 1954, which applied in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, provided the legal basis for a distinction between non-assimilated persons and Portuguese citizens, and set out rules governing all phases of life of non-assimilated Africans. According to the definition contained in the Statute, indígenas, or non-assimilated Africans, were persons who "do not as yet possess the level of education or the personal and social habits which are a condition for the unrestricted application of the public and private law pertaining to Portuguese citizens". In keeping with Portugal's policy of assimilation, there were provisions whereby indígenas could acquire citizenship. Apparently however, only a relatively small number of indígenas were able to become citizens under these provisions.<sup>2/</sup> Citizenship status was granted to the inhabitants of São Tomé and Timor after the Second World War, and has always been enjoyed by the inhabitants of Cape Verde.

17. Commenting on the rights attaching to the status of citizenship, the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration stated in its report<sup>3/</sup> that the use of the terms civilizado and não-civilizado in official statistics relating to the Territories before 1960, indicated that the full enjoyment of the rights and guarantees provided for citizens by the Constitution did not appear to be based on political status alone, but also on the attainment of a certain cultural level. The Committee pointed to the case of São Tomé where, in spite of the fact that the inhabitants had citizenship status, about 30 per cent were classified as não-civilizado.

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<sup>2/</sup> For details of the number of indígenas acquiring the status of civilizado see A/5160, para. 98.

<sup>3/</sup> A/5160, paras. 95-96.

18. The exercise of full political rights is restricted to citizens and is covered by special electoral laws, most of which restrict the franchise to citizens with certain literacy and financial qualifications. Furthermore, the requirement of Portuguese citizenship since birth, as a qualification for membership of the central and territorial organs of government, constitutes an additional restriction.

The decrees of 1961

19. On 28 August 1961 the Minister for Overseas Portugal announced a series of new measures which would be put into practice in the overseas Territories.

20. On 6 September 1961 a series of decrees were promulgated which provided for the repeal of the Native Statute of 1954, the regulation of the occupation and granting of land concessions, the establishment of Provincial Settlement Boards, the establishment of local administrative bodies to be known as regedorias, and for the regulation of courts and other judicial matters.<sup>4/</sup>

21. In introducing these measures,<sup>5/</sup> the Minister for Overseas Portugal stated that his Government believed "it necessary to increase the settlement of our Africa by European Portuguese who will make their home there". Measures were therefore being taken "to tackle realistically and firmly this problem to which we attach a high priority". He reiterated his Government's decision to continue its policy of multiracial integration and announced that in keeping with this policy his Government had decided to repeal the Native Statute. This decision had been made so it would "be clearly understood that the Portuguese people are subject to a political law which is the same for everyone, without distinction of race, religion or culture". He added that "in keeping with the rule that power must always be exercised by those who are most fit to do so, the law will define for all the conditions in which they may intervene actively in political life".

22. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration reviewed these new measures and, taking into account the information provided by the petitioners, concluded that:

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<sup>4/</sup> For a detailed account and analysis of these measures see A/5160, paras. 254-401 and A/AC.108/L.5 and Add.1

<sup>5/</sup> For the full text of this speech see A/AC.108/L.5, Add.1, annex.



"In the Committee's view, the reforms which Portugal claims to have introduced not only do not meet the basic aspirations of the peoples of the Territories but have not even brought about, as yet, any significant changes in political, economic, social and educational conditions." 6/

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6/ A/5160, para. 407.

## II. MOZAMBIQUE

### General

23. Information on Mozambique was included in the report of the Special Committee to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly<sup>7/</sup> and in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration.<sup>8/</sup>

### Political parties

24. Available information on Mozambique political parties and movements is set out below:

- (1) União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO) (National Democratic Union of Mozambique). Its President, Mr. Hlomulo Chitofu Gwambe, was a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962.
- (2) União Nacionalista Africana de Moçambique (Mozambique African National Union) (MANU). Its President, Mr. Mathew M. Mmole, was a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962.
- (3) União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente (UNAMI) (African National Union of Independent Mozambique). Its President, Mr. J. Baltazar, was a petitioner before the Special Committee of Seventeen in 1962.
- (4) Frente da Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) (Mozambique Liberation Front). Its President, Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, who appeared before the Fourth Committee in 1962 stated that the Front had been formed in June 1962. The Front is a merger of the former MANU and UDENAMO parties and has stated that it will seek to gain independence for Mozambique by peaceful means but will use force if necessary.

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<sup>7/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 25, document A/5238, chapter VII.

<sup>8/</sup> A/5160, part II, paras. 52-119. More detailed information on Mozambique up to the end of 1960 is contained in a background paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.108/L.8).

### III. ANGOLA

#### General

25. Information on Angola was included in the report of the Special Committee to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in the reports of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola,<sup>9/</sup> and in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration.

#### Political parties

26. Available information on Angolan political parties and movements is set out below:

(1) Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA) (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). The party's headquarters is in Leopoldville. Its President, Mr. Holden Roberto, appeared as a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly in 1962. The FNLA was formed in March 1962 by a merger of the Union des Populations de l'Angola (UPA) and the Parti Démocratique de l'Angola (PDA). In April 1962 a "Gouvernement de la République Angolaise en Exil" (GRAE) was set up with Mr. Holden Roberto as Premier and Mr. Emmanuel Kcunzika as Vice Premier. Representatives of FNLA informed the Sub-Committee on Angola in 1962 of the determination of the Front to carry on the struggle in Angola until independence was achieved.

(2) Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola). Its President, Mr. Mario Andrade, appeared as a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962. The declared objective of the MPLA is the immediate and total independence of Angola and the establishment of a democratic government in line with the world movement for political liberation and economic independence. In connexion with the formation of the Government in Exile (GRAE) representatives of MPLA stated before the

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<sup>9/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/4978); *ibid.*, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 29, document A/5286.

Sub-Committee on Angola in 1962 that its formation was "precipitate and exclusive". They added that their organization would continue to work for a "united front of the national liberation forces".

(3) Mouvement de Défense des Intérêts de l'Angola (MDIA) (Movement for the Defence of the Interests of Angola). Its President-General Mr. J.P. Bala, appeared as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee in 1962.

(4) Mouvement pour la Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda (MLEC) (Movement for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda). Its President, Mr. Ranque Franque, appeared as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee in 1962. The movement has aimed at independence for Cabinda. In his statement before the Fourth Committee in 1962 Mr. Ranque Franque said that "the MLEC could not advocate the future attachment of Cabinda to one of the neighbouring countries until the wishes of its people had been determined".

(5) Mouvement National Angolais (MNA) (Angolan National Movement), formerly Front National Angolais (FNA) (Angolan National Front). President-General, Mr. Charles Salvador, appeared as a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962. The movement favours the achievement of immediate independence.

(6) Union Nationale des Travailleurs Angolais (UNTA) (National Union of Angolan Workers). Its Secretary-General, Mr. Pascal Luvualu, appeared as a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962.

(7) Ngwizani à Kongo (NGWIZAKO) was established in 1960. It favours independence for Angola; one of its objectives is the restoration of the Kingdom of the Kongo.

(8) Other organizations include the Action Committee for the National Union of Cabinda (CAUNC), the Angolan Unity Front (FUA) and the NTO-BAKO Party.

#### IV. THE CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO<sup>10/</sup>

##### General

27. The islands of Cape Verde lie off the west coast of Africa, the nearest point being about 600 kilometres from Dakar. There are ten islands falling into two groups: the Barlavento or windward islands and the Sotavento or leeward islands.

28. The Barlavento Islands comprise: Santo Antao, S. Vicente, Santa Luzia, S. Nicolau and Sal and Boa Vista. The Sotavento Islands are Maio, Santiago, Fogo (Fire Island) and Brava (Wild Island). The total area of these islands is 4,032 square kilometres, about twice the area of the Azores Islands. The largest is Santiago (990 square kilometres) where the capital of the Territory, Praia, is located.

29. The present inhabitants are the descendants of settlers from Portugal, Genoa and Spain and of Africans, mainly from Portuguese Guinea, who were brought from the continent to work the land. At the 1950 census the total population was 147,235, comprising 101,726 mestiços, 42,476 Africans and 3,034 Europeans. According to the provisional figures of the 1960 census, the population was 201,548.

##### Government

30. Under the Portuguese Constitution, Cape Verde is an overseas province of Portugal and is administered by a Governor appointed by the Council of Ministers in Lisbon. Although the Organic Law of 1953 provides that each such Territory shall be administered in accordance with its Statute, it does not appear that such an instrument has ever been enacted for Cape Verde.

31. In contrast to the situation in the other Territories under Portuguese administration, since the end of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Cape Verde have been considered Portuguese citizens with a status legally and practically the same as that of persons living in Portugal. All inhabitants, mestico or African, were classified as civilizado in 1950 (as well as in the

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<sup>10/</sup> For more detailed information on Cape Verde see A/AC.108/L.10.

previous census). Portuguese civil, penal and commercial law applies to all the inhabitants of the Territory. Local administration is similar to that of Portugal and the metropolitan systems of taxation and education apply to the Territory with minor modifications.

#### Political parties

32. There is no information on any political movements in the Territory. From time to time in the past, there have been proposals in Portugal that Cape Verde should be related to the metropolitan country in the same way as are Madeira and the Azores. The official Portuguese view is that this movement towards integration is supported by Cape Verdians.
33. There are at present several parties outside the Territory whose goal is the liberation and independence of Cape Verde and Portuguese Guinea. These include the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde) and the Mouvement de Libération des Iles du Cap Vert (MLICV) (Liberation Movement for the Cape Verde Islands), which was formerly part of the Mouvement de Libération de la Guinée dite Portugaise et des Iles du Cap Vert (MLGCV-FLGCV) (Movement for the Liberation of "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands).

V. PORTUGUESE GUINEA<sup>11/</sup>

General

34. Portuguese Guinea is situated on the West Coast of Africa, between the Republics of Senegal and Guinea and stretches 198 miles into the interior at its widest point. Besides the mainland, it comprises the Bijagos Archipelago and a string of islands. The total area is 33,667 square kilometres of which approximately one-tenth is periodically submerged by tidal waters, and to a great extent covered with mangrove.

35. According to the 1960 preliminary census figures the population was 544,184, compared with 510,777 at the last census in 1950. The distribution of population by major ethnic groups at the 1950 census was as follows:

Non-assimilated Africans	502,457
Europeans	2,263
<u>Mestiços</u>	4,568
Indians	11
Assimilated Africans	1,478

In 1950 the population classified as civilizado was 8,320 or 1.8 per cent of the total population.

36. Bissau with about 20,000 inhabitants is the seat of the Government, the principal port and main commercial centre.

Government

37. Under the Portuguese Constitution, Portuguese Guinea is an overseas province of Portugal. The basic law of the Territory is the Statute of Guinea promulgated in 1955.

38. The organs of government are the Governor and the Government Council. There is no Legislative Council. The Governor is the supreme authority; he represents the Portuguese Government and possesses legislative and executive powers. He is appointed by the Council of Ministers in Lisbon.

39. The principal function of the Government Council is to express an opinion on draft legislation and on other matters presented to it by the Governor. It

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<sup>11/</sup> For more detailed information see A/AC.108/L.9.

consists of ten members: three ex-officio members, three members elected by direct suffrage of electors registered in the electoral register, one member elected by tax-payers, being persons of Portuguese nationality, paying more than 1,000 escudos<sup>12/</sup> per annum in direct taxes, one member nominated by the Governor, who must select from a list submitted by private organizations, one member nominated by the Governor to represent the indigenous population, and one member nominated by the Governor from among directors of administrative services. The term of office of all members is four years.

40. Members must be persons who have been Portuguese citizens since birth, who can read and write Portuguese, who have resided more than one year in Portuguese Guinea and who are not officials in active service.

#### Political parties

41. The main political movements relating to Portuguese Guinea are:

Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde)

Movimento de Libertação da Guiné (MLG) (Movement for the Liberation of Guinea)

Mouvement de Libération de la Guinée dite Portugaise (BISSAU) (MLG-Bissau) (Movement for the Liberation of "Portuguese" Guinea)

União das Populações da Guiné (UFG-ex.MLGC) (Union of the Peoples of Guinea)

In addition, the following groups have been formed:

Rassemblement Democratique Africain de la Guinée Portugaise (RDAG) (People's African Democratic Assembly of Portuguese Guinea)

Union Populaire de Libération de la Guinée Portugaise (UPLG) (People's Union for the Liberation of Portuguese Guinea)

Front National de Libération de la Guinée dite Portugaise (FNLG) (National Liberation Front of "Portuguese" Guinea).

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<sup>12/</sup> One United States dollar equals 28.5 escudos.



VI. SAO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE AND THEIR DEPENDENCIES<sup>13/</sup>

General

42. São Tomé and Príncipe are situated in the Gulf of Biafra, west of the Republic of Gabon. The area of the Territories is 372 square miles (964 square kilometres).

43. São Tomé was uninhabited at the time of its discovery. The indigenous element of the population is of mixed origin and appears to be largely derived from the original settlers from Portugal and Africans from Gabon and other parts of the Guinea coast. Most of the inhabitants live in the town of São Tomé and in a few villages in the eastern half of the island. According to the provisional figures of the 1960 census the total population was 63,676 with 59,102 in São Tomé and 4,574 in Príncipe.

Government

44. Under the Portuguese Constitution São Tomé and Príncipe form an overseas province of Portugal. The basic law of the Territory is the Statute of São Tomé and Príncipe, promulgated in 1955.

45. The organs of Government are the Governor and the Government Council. The Governor is the supreme authority. He represents the Portuguese Government and possesses legislative and executive powers. He is appointed by the Council of Ministers in Lisbon.

46. The Government Council votes on draft legislation, and gives an opinion on other matters presented to it by the Governor. It consists of eleven members, four ex-officio members, three members elected by direct suffrage of electors registered in the general census, one member elected by taxpayers, being persons of Portuguese nationality and paying more than 1,000 escudos in direct taxes, two members nominated by the Governor, who must select them from a list submitted by private organizations, and the President of the Câmara Municipal (municipal council or assembly) of São Tomé, representing the administrative bodies. The term of office of elected and nominated members is four years.

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<sup>13/</sup> For more detailed information see A/AC.108/L.11.

47. Elected members must be persons who have been Portuguese citizens since birth, who can read and write Portuguese, who have resided in São Tomé or Príncipe for more than one year and who are not officials in active service.

48. Portuguese civil law applies in São Tomé and Príncipe, and since before the end of the last century most of the inhabitants have been Portuguese citizens. At the 1950 census, however, only about two-thirds of the population (43,391) was listed as civilizado.

#### Political parties

49. The only known political organization is the Comitê de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (CLSTP) which was formed outside the Territory. Its President, Mr. Miguel Trovoada, appeared as a petitioner before the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962.

VII. TIMOR AND DEPENDENCIES<sup>14/</sup>

General

50. The Island of Timor is located at the tip of the chain of islands forming the Republic of Indonesia. The western part of the island is part of the Republic of Indonesia. The eastern part administered by Portugal includes an area of about 18,989 square kilometres and comprises also the enclave of Oe-Cussi (Ocussi) and Ambeno, an island off the north coast of Atauro, and the small uninhabited island of Jaco off the extreme eastern tip. Dili is the main urban centre of the Territory.

51. According to the 1950 census the population of Timor was 442,378. There were 568 persons of European origin, 2,022 mestiços, and 3,128 Chinese. Indigenous inhabitants numbered 436,448, most of whom (434,907) were listed as não-civilizado.

Government

52. According to the Constitution of Portugal, Timor is an overseas province of Portugal. The basic law of the Territory is the Statute of Timor promulgated in 1955.

53. The organs of government are the Governor and the Government Council. The Governor is the supreme authority. He represents the Portuguese Government and possesses legislative and executive powers. He is appointed by the Council of Ministers in Lisbon.

54. The Government Council votes on draft legislation, and gives an opinion on other matters presented to it by the Governor. It consists of eleven members: three ex-officio members, three members elected by direct suffrage of electoral colleges registered in the general census, one member elected by taxpayers, being persons of Portuguese nationality and paying more than 1,000 escudos in direct taxes, two members nominated by the Governor from a list submitted by private organizations, one member annually appointed by the Governor from among directors of administrative services, and one member nominated by the Governor from among the presidents of administrative bodies. The term of office of elected and nominated members, except for the member representing administrative services, is four years.

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<sup>14/</sup> For more detailed information see A/AC.108/L.13.

55. Members must be persons who have been Portuguese citizens since birth, who can read and write Portuguese, who have resided in Timor for more than one year and who are not officials in active service.

56. At the 1950 census, only 7,471, or 1.8 per cent of the total population, was classified as civilizado and less than one-tenth of these were Europeans. The largest single alien group among the civilized population, were the Chinese (55 per cent) followed by mulattoes (35 per cent). Included among the civilizado were 1,541 indigenous persons from Timor.

57. After the Second World War, the inhabitants of Timor were all granted citizenship. In spite of this, most of the indigenous population were not officially considered as civilizado.

#### Political parties

58. No information concerning political movements in the territory is available.

VIII. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES<sup>15/</sup>

General

59. Macau is located on the south coast of China, on the west side of the Canton River, and is almost directly opposite Hong Kong, which is thirty-five miles away. The main part of the Territory is the peninsula, which is about 4.8 kilometres (3 miles) long and 1.7 kilometres (1 mile) wide. In addition, the Territory also comprises two small islands, Taipa and Colowan (Coloane). The total area is about 15.5 square kilometres (6 square miles). The precise boundaries of the Territory have never been officially delimited.

60. The greatest part of the population is Chinese. At the 1950 census, the population was 187,772 of which 4,066 were Portuguese. The 1960 provisional figures give the permanently resident population as 169,299. On the basis of this estimate, the population density then was 11,000 per square kilometre. However other estimates suggest that the Chinese population in Macau varies between 400,000 and 800,000. In 1961 it was unofficially estimated that the population was around 450,000.

Government

61. The Portuguese established their settlement in Macau in 1557.<sup>16/</sup> Under the Statute of Macau promulgated in 1955, Macau comprises "the city Santo Nome de Deus de Macau and its dependencies".

62. Portugal administers Macau through a Governor appointed in Lisbon. He represents both civil and military authority in the Territory, and has the usual legislative and executive powers. There is also a Government Council which consists of ten members: three ex-officio members, three members elected by direct suffrage of electoral colleges registered in the general census, one member elected by taxpayers paying a minimum annual direct tax of 1,000 patacas,<sup>17/</sup> one person nominated by the Governor from a list of three persons suggested by private associations and institutions in the Territory, one person nominated

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<sup>15/</sup> For more detailed information see A/AC.108/L.12.

<sup>16/</sup> For details see A/AC.108/L.12, paras. 2-6.

<sup>17/</sup> One pataca equals 5.5 escudos.

by the Governor to represent the Chinese community, and the president of the Macau Municipal Council (Leal Senado). The conditions of eligibility are the same as for the Government Council in Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Timor,<sup>18/</sup> except that the person nominated to represent the Chinese need not have had Portuguese citizenship since birth, and need not be able to read and write Portuguese.

Political Parties

63. No information concerning political movements in the territory is available.

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<sup>18/</sup> See paras. 40, 47 and 55 above.

## IX. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

### Proposals for the revision of the Overseas Organic Law

64. As indicated above in paragraphs 19-23, in September 1961 Portugal announced the introduction of the first of a number of "reforms" which it was stated would have a far reaching effect. Within the basic concept of national unity, and in keeping with the constitutional principles of administrative autonomy and economic integration of the "Overseas Provinces", revision of the legislation affecting the Overseas Provinces has continued.

65. At the 1155th Plenary meeting of the General Assembly, 18 October 1962, the Permanent Representative of Portugal stated that a special session of the Overseas Council had been called and was then meeting to consider a revision of the Overseas Organic Law of 1953. Under the Constitution the Overseas Council may comprise members nominated by the Minister for Overseas Portugal, co-opted members (who must not exceed half the number of nominated members) and all colonial governors together with certain acting or retired officials who may be appointed as experts. For this special session the Overseas Council included also the elected members of the Legislative Councils of Angola and Mozambique, the governors and the deputies of the Territories to the National Assembly, representatives of economic interests in Angola and Mozambique and former government officials.

66. On the basis of recommendations and observations unanimously adopted by the Overseas Council, the Government has drawn up a bill to revise the Overseas Organic Law. The text of the bill has been submitted to the National Assembly which on 10 February 1963 appointed a special Committee consisting of 32 deputies, including 11 from overseas constituencies to study the proposed revision.

67. The Government's proposed bill introduces changes in 32 of the 92 Divisions in the 1953 text of the Organic Law, revokes three Divisions and adds two new ones.

68. The main points of the new bill are set out below.

(i) Central administration<sup>19/</sup>

69. At the national level the "Overseas Provinces" (in addition to representation at the National Assembly) are to have "adequate representation" in the Corporate Chamber,<sup>20/</sup> the Overseas Council<sup>21/</sup> and other national consultation Organs.<sup>22/</sup>

(ii) Territorial administration

70. At present, only Angola and Mozambique have Legislative Councils. Under the new bill, Legislative Councils will be established in all the other Territories.

71. All members of the Legislative Councils are to be elected. Details concerning the franchise under the proposed revision are not available. There are to be no longer any nominated members. At present the Legislative Councils in both Angola and Mozambique include members elected by direct suffrage, members elected by special interest groups and nominated members. Under Article 18 of the Statute of Angola, for instance, in addition to members elected by direct suffrage,<sup>23/</sup> provision is made for the election of:

One member by persons paying over 10,000 escudos in direct tax;

One member elected by corporative organizations representative of national economic interests;

One member elected by corporative bodies representing labour;

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<sup>19/</sup> This title follows the title of the Chapter in the 1953 text of the Organic Law, relevant Lei No. 2006 of 27 June 1953. It has been reported that the Overseas Council had recommended also that the representation of the "Overseas Provinces" in the National Assembly should be increased. The implementation of that recommendation would not involve any amendment to the text of the Organic Law.

<sup>20/</sup> The Corporative Chamber is a general advisory body composed of representatives "of local autonomous bodies and social interests" (Article 102 of the Constitution), which is consulted by the Government on proposals, draft bills and treaties that are to be submitted to the National Assembly for approval; hence government measures dealing with overseas territories that, in accordance with the Constitution, must take the form of legislation, are transmitted to the Corporative Chamber for its advice.

<sup>21/</sup> The Overseas Council is a permanent body established to advise the Minister for Overseas Portugal in matters concerning overseas administration and policy.

<sup>22/</sup> The other consultative organs are the Council of Overseas Ministers and the Economic Conference of the Overseas Territories. See A/4978, foot-notes 33 and 34.

<sup>23/</sup> See A/5160, parás. 109-119 and 261-269.



Two selected by organizations representative of moral and cultural interests,  
one of whom must be a Catholic missionary, and  
Two selected by the Administrative services.

At present the Legislative Councils of Angola and Mozambique each have 8 nominated members. At least 3 must be chosen from directors of departments, senior officials or their equivalent, and 2 must be chosen to represent the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

72. At present in Angola and Mozambique, the Governors-General and the Legislative Councils have power to legislate on matters exclusively of Territorial interest, and if the Governor-General disagrees with a decision of the Legislative Council, he has to submit the matter to the Minister for Overseas Portugal. Under the proposed bill, full legislative powers (a plenitude do Poder Legislativo) will belong to the Legislative Council. However, the Governor-General still has to promulgate the laws, and in cases where he disagrees with the Legislative Council, the decision of the Legislative Council will prevail if on second reading the bill is adopted by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Council. This procedure will not apply if the Governor-General refuses to enact a law on grounds that it is unconstitutional.

73. In Angola and Mozambique the Government Councils will be replaced by Economic and Social Councils whose members will be persons with special knowledge of administrative, moral, cultural and social activities. These Councils must be heard on all laws presented to the Legislative Councils, and on all laws published by the Governors-General in exercise of their legislative functions. The Economic and Social Councils will also function in a consultative capacity to the Governors-General in the exercise of their executive powers. The Government Councils in all other Territories will cease to exist.

74. The legislative organs of each Territory will have the power to adopt legislation regulating the composition, recruitment, duties and salaries of the Territorial Civil Service.<sup>24/</sup> This power is now held by the Minister for Overseas Portugal.

<sup>24/</sup> For general information on the recruitment of the civil service, see A/4978, paras. 214-216.

75. In addition to the existing local government bodies up to the level of the circunscrição,<sup>25/</sup> district councils will be established. The members of the district councils will be elected.

(iii) Territorial Public Service

76. Heretofore certain services, as for instance, education, finance, justice, public health and agriculture have been part of the national services in Lisbon, and some of the personnel in the administrative services have belonged to the common Overseas Service, while others belonged to the Territorial Civil Service. Under the new provisions, in Angola and Mozambique provincial secretariats are to be established comprising all administrative services, and each secretariat will be headed by a Provincial Secretary.

77. Under the new provisions the highest rank of the Territorial Civil Service will be that of Intendente. Persons holding this rank can be appointed to co-ordinate the work of administrators, who are the officials in charge of circunscrições; an Intendente may also be appointed as a district Governor. District Governors are however at present appointed by the Governor-General and are his direct representatives.

(iv) Financial administration

78. Although the Constitution lays down the principle of financial autonomy of the Territories in keeping with their economic development, under the Organic Law, 1953, a complicated procedure was established for the submission and approval of the annual budget of the Territories. Under the new bill, the procedures are to be simplified. The Territories will draw up and approve their own budgets with a prior hearing (audição prévia) by the Overseas Minister. Furthermore, the authority to transfer credits or to open credits which has hitherto been one of the executive functions of the Minister for Overseas Portugal will under the new bill be exercised by the Governors (or Governors-General).

<sup>25/</sup> This is the title of chapter IV of the Overseas Organic Law 1953. See A/5160, paras. 254-257.

(v) Economic planning

79. The Government Bill also makes provision for the establishment of a technical Commission for planning and economic integration in each Territory. Furthermore, the Territories will henceforth participate in the formulation of development plans and general programmes to ensure continuous and harmonious development of the national economy compatible with the over-all equilibrium of balance of payment of the escudo zone and the stability and value of the currency.

80. In order to implement the changes described above some of the laws which will have to be revised are:

The Law regulating the organization of the Overseas Ministry;

The Overseas Administrative Reform Act of 1933;

The Overseas Organic Law, 1953, and the regulations of the Overseas Council;

The Statute of the Overseas Public Service;

The political and administrative Statute of each of the Territories.

81. It is evident from available information, that the proposals for the revision of the Overseas Organic Law, do not envisage a change in the constitutional status of the Territories under Portuguese Administration. These proposals, if implemented, however, would go some way to meet the demands of the European elements in Angola and Mozambique for local administrative autonomy within the context of national unity and economic integration of the espaço português.

Economic integration of the Overseas Territories with Portugal

82. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration has pointed out in its report that economic integration of the overseas Territories has long been one of the main cornerstones of Portuguese policy. In 1961 legislation was enacted setting up the basis for a common market which was to come into effect in ten years.<sup>26/</sup>

83. As of 15 August 1962, tariffs were reduced on all locally manufactured goods from the overseas Territories. At the same time all goods manufactured in Portugal are now allowed free entry into the overseas Territories. Certain restrictions which still remain are to be of a temporary nature, and are intended to ensure the

<sup>26/</sup> See A/AC.108/L.5., paras. 57-63.

adaptation and reorganization of such agricultural or industrial products as have a predominant place in the economic structure of certain regions and which are not at the moment in a position to withstand competition by identical goods produced in other Territories.

84. Hitherto tariff and exchange restrictions have hampered both trade and monetary transactions between Portugal and the overseas Territories. For instance, despite the fact that the escudo is supposed to be the legal tender in all Portuguese Territories it seems that the escudo currencies of the overseas Territories are not convertible, or only at a discount causing hardships especially to settlers wishing to remit money in Portugal. Dissatisfaction with the economic system has been especially strong in Angola which is a dollar earner.

85. In November 1962 a further series of laws<sup>27/</sup> was enacted in order to (1) remove remaining obstacles to trade between the different component territories; (2) to establish a unified national monetary zone with a view to regulating exchange and creating a system of balance of payments which will facilitate the liquidation of transactions in goods and services between the component territories; and (3) assure the necessary unification of markets and programmes of economic development within the whole group of Territories.

86. These laws were to come into effect on 1 March 1963. According to an official Portuguese statement, the "national economic integration unity" meant that the overseas territories would have the same place, as far as possible, in the economy as any region in Portugal.

#### Other Developments

87. As reported by the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration, on 1 October 1962 the Rural Labour Code, Decree No. 44309, came into effect. This Code applies to Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique and Timor.<sup>28/</sup> Also in October 1962, South Africa and Portugal reached an agreement to revise the 1928 Convention relating to Mozambique.<sup>29/</sup>

<sup>27/</sup> Decrees No. 44698-44703 inclusive.

<sup>28/</sup> A/5160, paras. 346-366.

<sup>29/</sup> For details regarding the Convention see A/AC.108/L.8, paras. 94-96.

88. In December 1962, Premier Oliveira Salazar announced changes in the Cabinet. The five Cabinet Ministers replaced were: Army, General Mario Silva; Overseas Portugal, Professor Adriano Moreira; National Education, Manuel Lopes de Alemida; Economy, Jose Nascimento Ferreira Dias; and Health and Assistance, Henrique Martins de Carvalho. The new Minister for Overseas Portugal is Naval Commander Antonio Augusto Peixoto Correia.

89. Expenditures on Angola and national defence continue to dominate Portugal's budget. Premier Salazar is reported to have said that the war in Angola is only over "in so far as the way it began is concerned" and that "The war which drowns over the ashes could begin again in Angola and elsewhere...".

90. The war in Angola is now being fought as a guerrilla war which continues and which causes Portugal to still maintain 40,000 troops there. These troops are further supplemented by an active civilian militia, called the Volunteer Corps. There is little news on the extent of the actual fighting in the northern part of Angola, but from time to time army casualties in Angola are reported in the Lisbon papers. The training of Angolan troops in Thysville received much notice in the Lisbon papers.

91. In Portuguese Guinea there have recently been a number of encounters between members of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) and Portuguese troops. The exact extent of these encounters is not clear at this time. A press release issued by the headquarters of the PAIGC in Casablanca claims that in January there were clashes between the PAIGC and Portuguese troops in Fulacunda and Ambada, and that nationalists now control the whole country. It has also been reported that on 30 January "terrorist" activities destroyed a commercial establishment.

B. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE IN 1962 AND BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS SEVENTEENTH SESSION

92. At its meetings in 1962, the Special Committee considered the Territories of Mazambique and Angola (including the enclave of Cabinda).

93. At the conclusion of its consideration of Mazambique the Special Committee adopted a draft resolution on that Territory for the consideration of the General Assembly. By the preamble to this draft resolution the General Assembly, would state that it was convinced that the continued refusal of Portugal, despite General Assembly resolution 1542(XV) declaring Mozambique a Non-Self-Governing Territory, to implement provisions of the Declaration, as well as General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 1699 (XVI), was a challenge to the United Nations and world opinion and was a serious threat to peace and security in Africa. By the operative paragraphs, the General Assembly would solemnly reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence and support their demand for immediate independence. It would also deeply deprecate the repressive measures against the people of Mozambique and the denial to them of human rights and fundamental freedoms and call on the Portuguese authorities to desist forthwith from armed action and repressive measures against the people of Mozambique. It would also urge the Government of Portugal to (a) release all political prisoners immediately; (b) lift immediately the ban on political parties; and (c) undertake without further delay extensive political, economic and social measures that would ensure the creation of freely elected and representative political institutions and transfer of power to the people of Mozambique. It would request Member States to use their influence to secure the compliance of Portugal with the present resolution and to deny Portugal any support or assistance which may be used by it for the suppression of the people of Mozambique and, in particular, to terminate the supply of arms to Portugal. It would also remind the Government of Portugal that her continued non-implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly was inconsistent with her membership in the United Nations. Finally it would request the Security Council, in the event of Portugal's refusal to implement this and the previous resolutions of the General Assembly, to take appropriate measures, including sanctions if necessary, to secure Portugal's compliance with this resolution.

94. The Special Committee also adopted a draft resolution on Angola for the consideration of the General Assembly, which with certain modifications was adopted by the General Assembly at its seventeenth session.<sup>30/</sup>

95. When the General Assembly considered the Territories under Portuguese Administration at its seventeenth session it had before it the report of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and the report of the Sub-Committee on Angola.

96. By resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly, having examined the reports of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and having noted with deep concern that the policy and acts of the Portuguese Government with regard to the Territories under its administration had created a situation which constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security, condemned the attitude of Portugal as inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence and upheld without any reservations the claims of those peoples for their immediate accession to independence. It also urged the Portuguese Government to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration by taking the following measures: (a) the immediate recognition of the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence; (b) the immediate cessation of all acts of repression and the withdrawal of all military and other forces at present employed for that purpose; (c) the promulgation of an unconditional political amnesty and establishment of conditions that will allow the free functioning of political parties; (d) negotiations, on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination, with the authorized representatives of the political parties within and outside the Territories with a view to the transfer of power to political institutions freely elected

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<sup>30/</sup> See paragraph 98 below.

and representative of the peoples, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV); and (e) the granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples. The General Assembly also requested the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples to give high priority to an examination of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration, bearing in mind the present resolution and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It also called upon Member States to use all their influence to induce the Portuguese Government to carry out the obligations incumbent upon it under Chapter XI of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the Territories under its administration. It earnestly requested all States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration, and, for this purpose, to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government. Finally it requested the Security Council, in case the Portuguese Government should refuse to comply with the present resolution and previous General Assembly resolutions on this question, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State.

97. In view of the adoption by the General Assembly of this resolution, it was agreed that a separate resolution on Mozambique was not necessary and therefore the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee was not acted upon.

98. On 18 December 1962, the draft resolution on Angola recommended by the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, with certain modifications, was adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1819 (XVII) under the separate agenda item relating to the report of the Subcommittee on Angola. By this resolution the General Assembly, convinced that the colonial war being carried on by the Government of Portugal in Angola, the violation by that Government of the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961, its refusal to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in



General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and its refusal to implement other resolutions of the General Assembly relating to Angola, constituted a source of international conflict and tension as well as a serious threat to world peace and security, solemnly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, and supported their demand for immediate independence. It condemned the colonial war carried on by Portugal against the people of Angola and demanded that the Government of Portugal put an end to it immediately. It also called upon the Portuguese authorities to desist forthwith from armed action and repressive measures against the people of Angola. The General Assembly urged the Government of Portugal, without any further delay to release all political prisoners, to lift the ban on political parties and to undertake extensive political, economic and social measures that would ensure the creation of freely elected and representative political institutions and transfer of power to the people of Angola in accordance with the Declaration. It requested Member States to use their influence to secure the compliance of Portugal with the present resolution and to deny Portugal any support or assistance which may be used by it for the suppression of the people of Angola, and in particular to terminate the supply of arms to Portugal. It reminded the Government of Portugal that its continued non-implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council is inconsistent with its membership in the United Nations. Finally it requested the Security Council to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure Portugal's compliance with the present resolution and with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

C. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Introduction

99. The Special Committee considered Territories under Portuguese Administration at its 124th to 130th and 139th to 142nd meetings between 6 March and 4 April 1963.

Invitation to Portugal to participate in the work of the Special Committee

100. At its 124th meeting, the Special Committee decided to invite a representative of Portugal to attend meetings at which the situation in Territories under Portuguese administration was considered, in order that the Committee might hear any statements he might wish to make and receive any other information members might seek. The invitation was extended by letter of 6 March 1963<sup>31/</sup> from the Chairman of the Special Committee to the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations.

101. In reply, by letter dated 8 March 1963,<sup>32/</sup> the Permanent Representative of Portugal informed the Chairman that since Portugal was not a member of the Committee it was not clearly understood how its delegation could participate in the work of the Committee in a capacity which would necessarily be different and inferior to that of Committee members. The letter stated that the position of the Portuguese Government concerning the Committee and its mandate had already been defined on more than one occasion and that no new circumstances had occurred to justify a change in that position. For these reasons, the Government declined the invitation.

Written petitions and hearings

102. The Special Committee circulated the following written petitions concerning Territories under Portuguese administration.

Petitioner

Document No.

Territories in general

Mr. Agostinho Neto, President, Mouvement Populaire  
de Libération de l'Angola (MPLA)

A/AC.109/PET.122

<sup>31/</sup> See A/AC.109/SR.127.

<sup>32/</sup> Ibid.

Petitioner

Document No.

Angola

Mr. Socrates Mendonca de Oliveira Daskalos, President, <u>Frente de Unidade Angolana (FUA)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.53
Mr. João Francisco Quintao, Vice President, <u>Mouvement pour la Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda (MLEC)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.54
The <u>Parti Démocrate de l'Angola (PDA)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.55
The <u>Fédération du Front de Libération Nationale, Mostaganem.</u>	A/AC.109/PET.56
The <u>Fédération du Front de Libération Nationale, Oran.</u>	A/AC.109/PET.57
The <u>Association des Ressortissants de Kongo (NGWIZAKO)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.58
Mr. Carlos Gonçalves, <u>Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.75
Mr. Edouard Makoumbi, Secretary-General, <u>Alliance de Jeunes Angolais pour la Liberté (AJEUNAL)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.125
Dr. F. Ian Gilchrist	A/AC.109/PET.126

Mozambique

Mr. J.B.C. Chagong'a, President, <u>União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente (UNAMI)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.59
Mr. Leo Milas, <u>Frente da Libertação de Mozambique (FRELIMO)</u>	A/AC.109/PET.60
"Mozambican Officers - Deserters from the Portuguese Colonial Army"	A/AC.109/PET.61

The Cape Verde Archipelago

Miss Helena Silveira and others	A/AC.109/PET.123
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Portuguese Guinea

Mr. Benjamin Pinto-Bull, <u>Union des Ressortissants de la Guinée Portugaise</u>	A/AC.109/PET.124
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103. At its 128th meeting on 12 March 1963, the Special Committee heard Mr. Carlos Gonçalves, representative of the Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA).

104. Mr. Gonçaves thanked the Committee for its efforts to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. He wished to remind members of the tragic situation of Angola. Day after day Angolans were perishing at the hands of the Portuguese colonialists. Of the hundreds of villages which had surrounded Sao Salvador, only four were left; the rest had been burned down by soldiers and Portuguese milicianos, who at the same time had killed all those who had sought to escape. In the middle of every night there were raids on the villages; soldiers checked the number of members of each family; any additional members were killed. In the Ruiz district, according to The Times of London of 24 April 1962, ten villages were to be replaced by the Portuguese assassins now engaged in war. Refugees continued to pour into the Congo. Out of 3,000 Angolans from one village, only fifty had survived the Portuguese air force attack on their way to the Congo. The Portuguese had recently been harbouring mercenaries from Katanga who had landed in Angola with fourteen aircraft, all for possible use against the Angolan people. While the colonial repression was being intensified, Portugal persisted in its refusal to implement the recommendations adopted by the General Assembly. Since Portugal refused to end its colonial rule through the ways and means suggested by the United Nations, appropriate ways and means must be found.

105. It was clear that Portugal could not maintain its colonialist regime and continue its war of extermination without the support of the NATO countries. Over 50,000 persons had been killed in Angola as a result of the constant bombings carried out by the Portuguese air force. Some of the Portuguese air force experts and military men had been trained in the United States, and a great many of the Portuguese aircraft were of United States and West German origin. Financial grants had been made to Portugal, in the name of economic development plans, by France, the United States and West Germany. In the meantime, Portugal was making irresponsible grants for the exploitation of Angola's mineral wealth; that wealth was the cause of Portugal's determination to retain Angola at any price, regardless of the Angolan people's right to self-determination and independence. The financial assistance which Portugal received was used only for purposes of war. The military budget at the disposal of the new Governor-General had been increased

despite the decline of the Portuguese economy early in 1962. Every form of support given to Portugal, in a situation which endangered world peace, should cease.

106. The Front national pour la libération de l'Angola, which united all national fighting forces and was responsible for the struggle for Angola's liberation, embodied the true aspirations of the Angolan masses and was determined to fight courageously to end Portuguese colonialism. The recent decisions taken by PAFMECSA, to which the Front national pour la libération de l'Angola belonged, were encouraging and offered an outstanding demonstration of African solidarity. The Congolese had made available to the Front national the military bases necessary for the training of its soldiers, while the Algerians had, from the very start of the struggle, provided military and technical assistance. He hoped that other Africans would follow that example, as an expression of their sympathy with the Angolans in their struggle for freedom.

107. On behalf of the Angolan people and of the Front national pour la libération de l'Angola, he expressed his thanks for all the efforts already made by the African group and the Asian group to aid the peoples dominated by Portuguese colonialism. He also thanked those nations which would make the resolutions of the United Nations viable. He appealed to the member countries of NATO - Belgium, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and the United States - to deny any form of help to Portugal. He asked the United States, in particular, to enforce the measures adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and reported in The New York Times on 9 June 1962, calling for the cessation of all further assistance to Portugal because of its violation of agreements not to use military equipment against Angola. He also appealed to the Portuguese Government to allow the Angolan problem to be solved peacefully, in accordance with the aspirations of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence.

108. The time had come for the United Nations, through the appropriate means, to face the tragic Angolan situation. The United Nations must accomplish its goal of being the defender of the fundamental right of peoples to decide their own future. He wished to make three concrete suggestions in that regard: firstly, it should enforce the last part of resolution 1819 (XVII), particularly operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 8; secondly, it should assist, through the specialized agencies, the 200,000 refugees now in the Congo; thirdly, it should require all mercenaries to be delivered to the United Nations immediately, together with their equipment.

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General statements by members

109. The representative of Ethiopia said that in his delegation's view the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had carried out its task admirably, despite lack of co-operation from the Portuguese Government. Notwithstanding the obligations which it had undertaken in signing the Charter, the Government of Portugal had consistently refused to comply with the provisions of the Charter and had shown utter contempt for the numerous General Assembly resolutions urging it to discharge those obligations.

110. All the members of the Committee were well aware that during some five centuries of Portuguese rule the indigenous inhabitants of that country's colonies had experienced nothing but indignities, racial discrimination, forced labour, ignorance, poverty and denial of civil and political rights. If any doubts remained about conditions in those territories, the report of the Special Committee (A/5160) would dispel them. At a time when the vast majority of the peoples of former colonies were enjoying the fruits of freedom and independence from alien rule, and when the United Nations had decided to accelerate the tempo of emancipation of all the subjugated peoples, the attempt by Portugal to reverse the course of history in Africa was nothing less than a clear defiance of the United Nations. The findings of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration constituted one of the most serious indictments that could be brought against Portugal. The Committee had concluded that "the most urgent step forward now for Portugal is to recognize the right of the peoples of the territories to independence" (A/5160, paragraph 442). If the events of 1961 in Angola had not sufficiently convinced Portugal that it could not indefinitely continue to maintain its power and authority over the people under its administration by the might of the sword, the situation now prevailing in Portuguese Guinea was yet another proof that a reign of terror brought its own destruction.

111. The Committee's recommendations fell somewhat short of indicating ways and means by which the General Assembly might give practical effect to the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV). That being so, he recommended, firstly, that the Special Committee should establish contact with the Portuguese Government and

inform it that it should within a definite period of time put resolution 1514 (XV) into effect and, secondly, if the Portuguese Government refused to make a definite commitment to do so, should recommend that the Security Council should face its responsibilities and take whatever steps were necessary to compel Portugal to abide by resolution 1514 (XV). He would explain those two points further at a later stage of the debate.

112. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that the Special Committee should consider the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration in the light of resolution 1807 (XVII), which the General Assembly had adopted by an overwhelming majority after that situation had been studied in detail in various United Nations bodies. That resolution echoed the demands of the indigenous population in the Portuguese territories that Portugal should immediately grant full independence to all its colonies.

113. Since the adoption of the resolution, the situation in all the territories under Portuguese administration had actually deteriorated and Portugal was proceeding even more relentlessly with its policy of war and mass repression of the inhabitants. Although the situation was explosive in all the territories, it was most alarming in so-called Portuguese Guinea, where in the summer of 1962 the Portuguese forces had carried out a cruel campaign of repression against the inhabitants. Between 15 June and 31 July 1962, the Portuguese authorities had arrested over two thousand patriots from among the indigenous population; hundreds had been tortured and many had been killed. Mr. Amilcar Cabral, the General Secretary of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, had told the Fourth Committee in December 1962 that if the Portuguese Government did not change its policy and if the United Nations did not take immediate action, the indigenous inhabitants would have no choice but to continue the struggle to end colonial domination. In the hope, however, that the influence of the United Nations would prevail and that the Portuguese Government would heed the voice of reason. Mr. Cabral had proposed that the problem should be solved by negotiation. The Portuguese Government had answered by new measures of repression. Its regular army, equipped with modern weapons, was fighting against an unarmed population, which had been driven by desperation to revolt. The scope of the military action of the Portuguese Government against the

population of Portuguese Guinea was demonstrated by the reports published in Conakry that in January the Portuguese military forces had lost 130 men. On 26 February 1963, the Christian Science Monitor had reported that the Portuguese authorities had reopened the concentration camp at Tarrafal in the Cape Verde Islands. That camp having proved inadequate, a further camp had been opened on the island of Galinhas.

114. The question of Portuguese Guinea would have to be settled in the general context of the question of the other Portuguese colonies, where Portugal was pursuing the same policy. The Committee should realize that Portugal had no desire to change its policy and was doing everything possible to defend the regime established in its territories. In an interview given in December 1962 Mr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal, had said that Portugal would never agree to grant independence to its colonies and that it would not hesitate to use all its forces to suppress any uprising in Northern Angola or any other Portuguese territory.

115. In paragraph 7 of resolution 1807 (XVII), the General Assembly earnestly requested all States "to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration and, for this purpose, to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government." That paragraph of the resolution was not being implemented. Portugal's NATO allies were supplying it with arms and troops. It had been reported that the Salazar Government had decided to remove its entire army from metropolitan Portugal because Spain had agreed to supply it with 20,000 troops for the maintenance of order in Portugal itself. In addition, Spaniards were serving in the Portuguese forces of repression and had been among the casualties in Portuguese Guinea in February 1963, as had been pointed out in the communiqué of the Comité de soutien à l'Angola et aux peuples des colonies portugaises published in Le Monde on 1 March. On 29 December 1962 the Philadelphia Inquirer had reported that Portugal was trying to exploit the negotiations on the extension of the lease of the Azores for United States air and naval bases as a means of influencing United States foreign policy. Differences



of opinion between the United States and Portugal had been smoothed over and the United States had refused to support General Assembly resolution aimed at Portugal. It had been reported in the Christian Science Monitor of 5 December 1962 that the Government of Lisbon was confident that in due course Washington would provide solid support for Portugal's position in Africa and that the official view was that in the end the United States would be grateful to Portugal for maintaining order in that part of Africa. Thus there was a direct link between the presence of United States military bases in Portuguese territories and Portugal's colonial war. That example showed once again that the existence of foreign military bases on their territory was a source of suffering for the peoples of all countries, and particularly for those of the newly independent countries.

116. Since the General Assembly resolutions concerning the territories under Portuguese administration were not being implemented, the only solution to the problem lay in intervention by the Security Council. Recourse to the Security Council would be in accordance with the demands of the indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies. African organizations and political parties had declared themselves in favour of the use of economic sanctions against Portugal, the exclusion of Portugal from membership of the United Nations and the severance of diplomatic relations with that country. Indeed, many States in Africa and Asia had already declared an economic and diplomatic boycott of Portugal. Ghana had closed its airfields to Portuguese aircraft and denied vessels in the Portuguese fleet access to its ports; Indonesia had recalled its Ambassador from Lisbon; and Senegal and Uganda had broken off all relations with Portugal.

117. In resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1819 (XVII), the Security Council had been requested to take appropriate measures to ensure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State; since all possible means of persuasion and moral pressure had been exhausted, the adoption of such measures should be postponed no longer. The United Nations should act in accordance with the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly; the sooner that was done, the better it would be for the people in the Portuguese colonies and, ultimately, for the people of Portugal.

118. The representative of Uruguay pointed out that there was a new factor which the Special Committee should take into account in considering the territories under Portuguese administration. At the 1196th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the United States delegation had submitted a draft resolution proposing the appointment of two United Nations representatives, one for the purpose of gathering information on conditions in Angola and the other for the purpose of gathering information on conditions in Mozambique, in both cases including information on political, economic and social conditions, by visiting those two territories and such other places as they might deem necessary. At the same meeting, the representative of Portugal had expressed his Government's agreement to that proposal and its readiness to co-operate with the representatives in question, who would be able to move freely throughout the territories under Portuguese administration and talk freely to anyone who might help them to accomplish their mission. Although the Portuguese delegation had expressed certain reservations regarding the proposal, in particular with respect to Portugal's interpretation of the United Nations Charter, and although the draft resolution had been withdrawn at the request of the Afro-Asian group, the delegation of Uruguay thought that the proposal and its acceptance by the Government of Portugal had been of great importance.

119. He wondered whether it would not be possible for the Committee to obtain the acceptance of the Portuguese Government for a similar plan which, while rectifying certain points in the United States draft resolution, would be designed to achieve the same end, namely, a United Nations presence in the Territories under Portuguese administration. It had always been the policy of the United Nations, in its efforts to achieve the liberation of colonial peoples, to establish a presence in the territory in question. A United Nations presence was a stimulus to those who were struggling for independence and a form of acceptance by those who were refusing to grant independence; it was a tangible expression of the efforts being made in the United Nations, in one resolution after another. It was true that up to the present the Portuguese Government had shown a complete lack of respect for the Committee and a total disregard of United Nations resolutions. It should be borne in mind, however, that the destiny and the right to freedom and justice of a large and suffering population were at stake and the Special Committee should not allow any extraneous considerations to deflect it

from its duty. The advantages of a United Nations presence outweighed any possible disadvantages. If the Government of Portugal refused to allow the United Nations to establish a presence in its territories, that refusal would be added to its other misdemeanours but at least it could then be said that all possible methods of reason and persuasion had been tried before more extreme measures were resorted to.

120. The representative of Tanganyika recalled that Portugal had continually disregarded United Nations resolutions calling for the liberation of the Africans whom it had enslaved for centuries, and had stubbornly repeated its assertion that it had no colonies but only overseas provinces. Portugal did not accept the fundamental principles of self-determination and independence on which the Committee based its work. It was clear from the thorough and detailed information available to the United Nations that Portuguese colonial policy amounted to the perpetuation of the ruthless subjugation of people to foreign rule. It entailed the unrestrained use of force to suppress any manifestations of the normal desire for freedom. In Angola, there had been a spontaneous uprising and a war of liberation had started. It was disturbing to learn that many of the mercenaries recently expelled by the United Nations from Katanga had been granted asylum in Angola by the Portuguese. It had recently been reported that another war of liberation had begun in so-called Portuguese Guinea. The Portuguese police had always waged a campaign of terror in Mozambique; many people with nationalistic leanings disappeared overnight and those who managed to escape described ruthless shootings and torture in prisons and labour camps. Many Africans from Mozambique had fled to Tanganyika and many people of Indian origin had passed through Tanganyika on their way from Mozambique to India.

121. After centuries of humiliation, the people living under Portuguese domination had taken up arms, as was always the case when peaceful methods failed. The American war of independence and the recent Algerian struggle were other examples of that process and proved that the opponents of colonialism always triumphed in the end. The present session of the Committee was probably Portugal's last chance to yield to reason and grant independence peacefully. The Special Committee should recommend specific measures to be adopted as a matter of urgency, to prevent Africa and the world from being plunged into a catastrophe. Portugal and its allies, especially those who supplied it with arms and enabled it to send troops to Africa by ensuring its defence under the NATO agreement, should realize that Africans were following the situation closely.

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122. At the meeting of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA), held at Leopoldville in December 1962, strong concern had been voiced about the deteriorating situation in the Portuguese colonies and the following specific decisions and recommendations had been made, which the Special Committee should take into consideration: the Portuguese should withdraw their troops from Portuguese territories in Africa, release all political prisoners immediately and allow political parties to operate freely; PAFMECSA should request NATO countries not to supply arms to Portugal; States belonging to PAFMECSA should apply economic sanctions against Portugal and appeal to the United Nations to do the same; they should expel Portuguese nationals from their countries and request other African States to do the same, and all African countries should sever diplomatic relations with Portugal; PAFMECSA should immediately arrange to give financial and material aid to the freedom fighters in the Portuguese territories and to the refugees outside; PAFMECSA should arrange scholarships for students from those territories in PAFMECSA countries and others; Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea should be granted independence in 1963, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and if that was not done the African States should intervene.

123. Tanganyika fully endorsed those recommendations and had broken off diplomatic relations with Portugal in 1961. The Tanganyikan delegation would support the suggestion that the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration should be referred to the Security Council, in accordance with paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII).

124. The representative of Cambodia said that he would not dwell on the deplorable situation in the territories under Portuguese administration but would try to express some constructive ideas which he hoped would assist the Committee to solve the difficult problems which faced it.

125. Despite the suggestions and recommendations submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee of Seventeen, and the conclusions of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and of the Sub-Committee on Angola, there had been no change in the attitude of the Portuguese Government, which continued to maintain that the territories were overseas provinces of Portugal. There had been talk of reforms but it had not been clearly stated whether they

would lead to the implementation of the principles of the Charter and be in accordance with the general view concerning the rights of the peoples concerned.

126. During the seventeenth session of the General Assembly the question had been debated at length in the Fourth Committee, which had heard statements by some sixty representatives and twelve petitioners. The question had therefore been amply discussed and there was no need to go over it again.

127. It was clear that in the opinion of those Member States which had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) some action must be taken. That was the purpose of General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII), which had been adopted by a large majority on 14 December 1962. That resolution set forth the most appropriate ways and means of achieving the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. In addition to the statement of principle set forth in operative paragraph 3, the resolution called for a number of steps to be taken by Portugal and by the States whose assistance had enabled it to continue its policy of repression in its territories. Moreover, operative paragraph 7 requested all States to refrain from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance and to take measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government. That might be a drastic step, but it would have the advantage of putting an end to a situation which constituted a threat to peace.

128. If the positive steps mentioned in General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) were taken they could lead to the implementation of the Declaration. Two months had, however, elapsed since the adoption of the resolution and so far there had been no sign that it was being put into effect. The question therefore was what to do next.

129. In his delegation's view it was not essential for the Committee to adopt a fresh resolution. It might, however, adopt the following provisional conclusions:

(1) that the Special Committee was convinced that the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) would be a positive step towards the implementation of the Declaration in the Territories concerned;

(2) that it was the duty of the Special Committee to ensure that the steps advocated in that resolution were taken into consideration by the countries concerned;

(3) that the Special Committee hoped that Portugal should show a better understanding of the situation and requested that country to comply with its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the territories under its administration;

(4) that if in a relatively short time the Portuguese Government had not agreed to implement resolution 1807 (XVII) and the previous resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee was determined to lay the matter before the General Assembly and to inform the Security Council so that appropriate steps might be taken to induce Portugal to fulfil its obligations as a Member State.

130. Those were mere suggestions. The attitude which he proposed the Committee should adopt might appear passive, but it was realistic and showed determination. Once the Committee had pronounced judgement it would be for the Member States as a whole to take the necessary steps if Portugal once again failed to comply with a resolution of the General Assembly.

131. There had been talk of a United Nations presence in the territories. His delegation would have no objection to such a proposal, but it must be realized that before that proposal could be carried out Portugal must recognize that the territories in question were not overseas provinces and that their peoples were entitled to self-determination and independence. At the 1196th meeting of the General Assembly, however, the Portuguese representative had stated that his country would agree to the appointment of two United Nations representatives to visit Angola and Mozambique, subject to the reservation that his Government did not consider Article 73 of the Charter to apply to the Portuguese overseas provinces.

132. The attitude to be adopted by the Committee would relate to all the territories at present administered by Portugal. Thus his proposals applied equally to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

133. The question had two aspects, the political aspect and, so to speak, the military aspect. If Portugal would agree to grant the people the right to self-determination and independence the disturbances would automatically come to an end.

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134. The United Nations had decided by an overwhelming majority that the peoples were entitled freely to choose their own destiny; that right should not be refused them. Portugal must understand that fundamental truth, but he still hoped that its goodwill and understanding would be forthcoming.

135. The representative of Mali said that his delegation had frequently defined its position with regard to Portugal's colonialist policy in its African territories and had deplored Portugal's refusal to comply with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

136. The report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160) provided abundant information about the wretched living conditions of the people under Portuguese domination in Africa. Portugal had remained deaf to all the appeals of the United Nations and was continuing its policy of forcible assimilation. In the meantime tension was growing in all the territories under Portuguese domination. In response to the conclusions of the Special Committee, Portugal had intensified the repressive character of its colonial policy and had launched a war on the Algerian model in Angola and again recently in so-called Portuguese Guinea. At the same time the Salazar Government was appealing for the investment of foreign capital in Angola, some of the profits realized being used for the purchase of war material. It should be noted that almost all the shares in the Trust which held a monopoly for the mining of an trade in diamonds from Angola belonged to the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, the Morgan Bank, the Oppenheimer and Guggenheim groups and above all to the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. Oil production was in the hands of Petrofina, a Belgian company, and the Chase National Bank. The political counterpart of those international monopolies was the "Unholy Alliance" of Salazar, Welensky and Verwoerd. Moreover, the Salazar Government was pleading with its NATO allies to come to its help.

137. Despite all those reactionary manoeuvres, the nationalist movement was daily gaining strength. All the independent African countries were urging the Portuguese Government to put an end to the war in Angola forthwith and to grant political independence to all the Portuguese colonies, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The reply of the Portuguese Government to the

appeal of the African States and the United Nations had been to start a new war in so-called Portuguese Guinea. Since 15 June 1962 over 3,000 people had been imprisoned and hundreds had been sent to concentration camps. Recently over 130 Portuguese soldiers had been killed during a skirmish with the nationalists of so-called Portuguese Guinea. In addition fourteen soldiers or mercenaries had been killed in February in the course of incidents provoked by the criminal methods employed by the Portuguese colonialists. At the same time the indigenous people of the territory were suffering from a chronic famine.

138. All those facts constituted a serious threat to international peace and security and called for an immediate and radical solution, which in his delegation's view could only be the granting of independence to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the other territories under Portuguese domination. The Portuguese Government should realize that fact and agree to co-operate loyally with the United Nations. As proof of its willingness to co-operate the Portuguese Government should consent to the visit of a delegation of the Committee of Twenty-Four, first to Lisbon to discuss matters with the Portuguese authorities and subsequently to Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other territories under Portuguese domination. The visit should take place in the context of the search for ways and means of ensuring the early application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to the Portuguese territories. His delegation considered that the Committee should take its final decision regarding the Portuguese territories after considering all the efforts that had been made to get in touch with the Portuguese Government with a view to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the other relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies.

139. For the time being his delegation would confine itself to that preliminary suggestion, reserving the right to submit other proposals in due course.

140. Portugal must understand that the time had gone by when the domination of one people over others could be tolerated and that co-operation between independent States was the order of the day.



141. The representative of Iran said that, in view of the serious and dangerous situation created by the stubborn and incomprehensible attitude of the Administering Powers, his delegation considered the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia to be in a class by themselves among the colonized territories covered by the Declaration set out in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

142. A wealth of documentation concerning Angola and the other Portuguese colonies in Africa had been assembled over the past few years by the Fourth Committee, the Security Council and various special committees and sub-committees. In addition the activities of nationalist movements in the Territories under Portuguese administration received daily coverage in the international Press. Those various sources of information revealed that, after five centuries of colonization, the Territories under Portuguese administration were among the most under-privileged in the world, their African inhabitants were the victims of a thinly disguised form of slavery, in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the nationalist movements in those countries were being consistently kept down by force.

143. Resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1819 (XVII), in which the General Assembly had recommended a series of practical and urgent measures designed to apply to the Portuguese colonies, without delay, the Declaration set out in resolution 1514 (XV), and had once again urged the Government of Portugal to reconsider its attitude and to co-operate with the United Nations, had gone unheeded. Portugal persisted in asserting that there could be no change in its relationship with its Territories, and completely disregarded the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous peoples. In the circumstances it would appear that the only possible course of action open to the United Nations was to refer the matter to the Security Council. Nevertheless his delegation, like those of Uruguay and Mali, considered that before such drastic action was taken the Committee might try once again to persuade the Portuguese Government to come to terms with present-day realities, and with the anxieties of the international community, and agree to co-operate with the Committee in its efforts to complete the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

144. The Committee might perhaps send the Lisbon Government a letter to that effect, drawing its attention to the gravity of the situation and to the dire consequences that would soon be apparent if it persisted in its present attitude, and asking it to co-operate in implementing the Declaration. If Portugal failed to respond favourably to that request within a given period, the Committee might then refer the case to the Security Council. His delegation sincerely hoped that such an approach would be favourably received by Portugal and that the peoples of the Portuguese colonies would be able to attain independence in peace and harmony.

145. The representative of Tunisia recalled that his delegation had had occasion a few months previously to state its position on the various questions relating to the Portuguese Territories. There had been few political developments since that time. However, the fact that the so-called Portuguese Guinea had now reached the stage of armed struggle three years after Angola, was of the first importance to the Committee's discussions and to any action which the United Nations might take.

146. At the same time the war was continuing in Angola, the Angola patriots were increasingly successful in adapting their tactics to local conditions and the struggle was now being waged on a united front. In view of the vast conspiracy of silence which seemed to surround the Angolan war, his delegation felt called upon to stress the importance of giving the Angolan question all the attention it deserved as a situation so menacing to peace and security in that part of Africa. Furthermore, although the Angolan patriots were short of weapons, the same could not, unfortunately, be said of the forces of repression, which enjoyed the support of the greatest military grouping of all time.

147. His delegation did not think the Committee could change such a grave situation merely by adopting another resolution, and it had therefore been very interested in the constructive proposals made, in particular, by the delegations of Uruguay, Cambodia and Mali. It was convinced that the time had come to make contact with the Portuguese authorities in some way. It might be useful to take up, in the context of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the Committee's work, the idea referred to by the Uruguayan representative and put forward by the United States delegation at the last session of the General Assembly. His delegation also agreed with the Cambodian representative that it would be wise for the Portuguese Government to begin by recognizing the right of the peoples of its territories to self-determination.

148. In any event, he thought it important to show adaptability in seeking to establish some contact with the Portuguese authorities to tell the Portuguese Government again to cease all repression of the African peoples, and to call once more upon Portugal's allies to put an end to their military assistance to that country.

149. With regard to the Committee's recommendations to the General Assembly, his delegation considered that it would be desirable first to study whatever statements were made by the petitioners, to take into account any developments occurring before the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, and to await the Portuguese Government's reaction to such proposals as the Committee might decide to make.

150. It was to be hoped that the Portuguese Government would not hold aloof from sober and constructive contact designed to put an end to all armed action against the peoples and to permit the complete fulfilment of their aspirations to self-determination and independence.

151. The representative of Poland recalled that in recent years questions relating to the Portuguese colonies had frequently been before the United Nations, which had been endeavouring to induce the Portuguese Government to comply with its obligations under the Charter and to co-operate in the application of United Nations resolutions. Many countries, particularly those of Africa and Asia, had appealed to the allies and friends of Portugal to prevail upon it to abide by the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

152. Portugal, however, had persisted in its defiant attitude and continued to deprive the indigenous inhabitants of its territories of their human rights and to deny their legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence. While a great part of Africa had cast off the colonial yoke and emerged as a positive force for peace and co-operation among nations, the indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies were still being oppressed, exploited and enslaved.

153. Despite Portugal's negative attitude, the United Nations had succeeded in collecting information on conditions in the territories under Portuguese administration and in focusing world public opinion on the grave situation prevailing there. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese

Administration, in particular, had prepared a detailed and circumstantial report showing that the situation in the Portuguese colonies could be attributed to the fact that Portugal still considered them integral parts of its national territory and completely disregarded the aspirations of the indigenous peoples. The evidence gathered by the United Nations proved that the two main factors responsible for the atmosphere of tension prevailing in the Portuguese colonies were, firstly, the deep dissatisfaction of the indigenous inhabitants with political, economic, social and educational conditions, and secondly Portugal's determination to suppress by force any political activity among the people.

154. Faced with the strong reaction of world opinion, Portugal had attempted to deceive the United Nations by proclaiming some reforms which failed to meet the basic aspirations of the people. One such reform, according to the Portuguese Government, had taken the form of legislative proposals, on the Overseas Council's advice, to decentralize the internal administration of the overseas territories and give them fuller representation in Parliament. Those proposals, if implemented, would go some way to meet the demands of the European elements in Angola and Mozambique but would make no change in the constitutional status of the Territories under Portuguese administration, which Lisbon still regarded as integral parts of the European metropolitan Power.

155. The purpose of the reforms was to give the non-African elements greater freedom of action so that they could take over political power when Portugal was ultimately forced to accede to the indigenous inhabitants' demands for self-determination and independence. The efforts for decentralization and the influx of settlers were designed to turn the Portuguese colonies into countries of the Southern Rhodesian or South African type. Mr. Holden Roberto had said that the south of Angola was almost entirely in the hands of the settlers and that the Portuguese were in the process of creating a terrorist racial organization, comparable to the former Secret Army Organization (OAS) in Algeria, with the apparent aim of partitioning the country so that its southern part, which had the most settlers and was the most fertile, would remain in non-African hands. It was no wonder, therefore, that the Portuguese authorities had granted refuge to many mercenaries recently expelled from Katanga.

156. Portugal has undertaken no significant political reforms, had not consulted the indigenous population, and had established no political institutions whose members, as required by the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples were freely elected with a view to power being transferred to the people. Portugal's policy had created a very grave situation, which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, and in which Portugal's allies, by continuing to supply it with weapons that were used for the suppression of nationalist movements, bore a particular responsibility. In that connexion, the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had assembled irrefutable facts showing the direct complicity of the NATO Powers in the colonial war waged by Portugal in Angola.

157. Several months had elapsed since the adoption of resolution 1807 (XVII), which represented a further effort to make Portugal listen to reason. That country, however, had merely intensified its repressive measures in Portuguese Guinea and elsewhere, and the Press had reported the recent disturbances and bloodshed in Portuguese Guinea. Thus the situation in the Portuguese Territories had deteriorated.

158. His delegation sympathized with the impatience of the representatives of African countries for rapid action to end Portuguese colonialism in 1963. The question was what the Special Committee could do to assist the indigenous populations of the Portuguese colonies who had placed their trust and hope in the United Nations. In his delegation's view, the most appropriate measure would be to bring the problem of the Portuguese colonies before the Security Council in accordance with resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1819 (XVII). All the resources of moral pressure and persuasion had been exhausted, and the time had come to implement the Assembly's decisions. The problem was no longer one of information but one of action, and his delegation would support a draft resolution to that end. However, if the Committee preferred to make one last effort to enlist Portugal's co-operation in giving effect to the Declaration on the granting of independence, his delegation would not oppose the idea of sending a visiting mission of the Committee to Lisbon and to the African Territories under Portuguese administration provided that it did not delay recourse to the Security Council indefinitely, for time was a vital factor. The decision to

bring the matter before the Council might be postponed until a specific date - say 25 March 1963 - pending a reply from Portugal on the question of sending a visiting mission.

159. The representative of Sierra Leone said that in his delegation's opinion the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration had continued to deteriorate and was now most alarming. After Angola, it was now the turn of Portuguese Guinea, and there were disturbing reports from Mozambique. Everything pointed to the fact that Portugal had committed itself to a policy of suppression, intimidation, mass murder and denial of the legitimate rights of the indigenous inhabitants, in defiance of the Charter and General Assembly resolutions. The General Assembly, in its resolution 1807 (XVII), had requested the Special Committee to give priority to an examination of the Territories under Portuguese administration.

160. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration had already submitted a report (A/5160) drawing attention to the serious plight of those Territories' inhabitants and to the atmosphere of insecurity pervading their lives. It was clear that those peoples were determined to fight for their liberation, and that that was the proper attitude for them to take.

161. Contacts between the United Nations and Portugal had been proposed with a view to establishing, if possible, better conditions for the peoples concerned. There was little reason to count on Portuguese co-operation, but his delegation would support any proposal that gave Portugal a chance to withdraw from its position with some dignity. That country, which in the past had done much for civilization, should make a gesture of good will. It should offer specific proposals as to how it would best co-operate with the United Nations. At the General Assembly's last session, the United States had proposed that a rapporteur should be sent to the Portuguese Territories. At the time many delegations had viewed that proposal with disfavour because it had followed a resolution covering all the important points. Many delegations, including that of Sierra Leone, had felt that the spirit of co-operation invited by the United States proposal could well have been exhibited by the Portuguese even under the terms of resolution 1807 (XVII). However, in December 1962 Mr. Salazar had categorically stated that he would

never agree to the idea of independence for Portuguese colonies and that Portugal would without hesitation throw all its forces into the task of repression.

162. There had been justifiable speculation as to what role Portugal's allies had been playing behind the scenes. It had been a sorry role, especially since many of those allies had publicly protested against Portuguese policy. His delegation appealed to them in the spirit of resolution 1807 (XVII), which earnestly requested all States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression, and to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms to the Portuguese Government.

163. The effectiveness of the United Nations as a moral force was at stake in the matter of the Portuguese Territories. His delegation therefore suggested that the Special Committee should establish a sub-committee, or authorize the existing Working Group, to open direct discussions with the Portuguese Government. One or the other of those bodies could make a thorough study of any suggestions which Portugal might make for co-operation in the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions. If that method failed, his delegation considered that the matter should be taken up by the Security Council in accordance with resolution 1807 (XVII). No one could deny that peace was threatened by Portuguese colonialism in Africa. However, his delegation would be willing to consider any other suggestions likely to bring an end to Portuguese domination.

164. The representative of Iraq said that the General Assembly had been dealing with the problem under consideration for more than six years, but had made no progress. As the Secretary-General had said in his recent speech before the Economic Club of New York, the drive towards independence was an irreversible process. It was the duty of the United Nations to speed up that process, and nowhere was that task more urgent than in the Portuguese Territories. The facts, which had already been set forth on many occasions, were unchallengeable. The territories in question were the most backward on the whole African continent, and the reforms introduced recently were entirely inadequate. In any case, the problem could no longer be solved by reforms, however far-reaching they might be. It was not necessary to refute the spurious legal contentions put forward by Portugal. It was sufficient to say that Portuguese policy sought, or pretended to seek, a goal that was both unattainable and basically unacceptable,

namely, to absorb an African population into a Western culture. But Portugal was trying to hold an untenable position through oppression and violence.

165. In such circumstances, the task of the Committee was to initiate measures and propose them to the Portuguese Government, as well as to the General Assembly and the Security Council, if necessary, to secure the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The General Assembly had already proposed immediate measures, which had so far been completely ignored by Portugal, and the Committee would therefore be fully justified in seeking drastic or even coercive action by the appropriate organs of the United Nations. The reply from the Portuguese Government which the Secretary had read at the beginning of the meeting provided yet another example of the Portuguese attitude of defiance. However, the problem involved the fate of millions of people, and the Committee should not allow itself to be discouraged. It might therefore be advisable to make one more effort, perhaps the last, to establish contact with the Government of Portugal.

166. As far as the form of actual timing of such contact was concerned, that could be decided by agreement between representatives of the Committee and representatives of the Portuguese Government. It was hard to say whether such contact should take place in New York, Lisbon, or Africa. Considerable flexibility of approach might be necessary in the matter; moreover, the delegation of Iraq felt that contact might also usefully be established with Portugal's allies at the earliest possible moment, with a view to enlisting their support for whatever initiative the Committee might decide upon. Their co-operation was particularly important for the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the denial to Portugal of any assistance which might be used by it in its colonial war.

167. If direct contact with the Portuguese Government failed to achieve the desired results, then the delegation of Iraq agreed with the representative of Ethiopia that the attention of the Security Council should be drawn to the matter and that a resolution should be adopted by the Committee in which certain measures - including, if necessary, diplomatic and economic sanctions - might be proposed.



168. The representative of Italy said that the Special Committee could not afford to submit to the next session of the General Assembly a report indicating that no progress had been made in the Territories administered by Portugal and that no change was in sight in the future. The members of the Committee should not rest until all practical methods had been exhausted. Their first task must be to make a preliminary choice: in other words, to decide what means to use in order to achieve the goal. The category of means represented by verbal instruments such as declarations, statements of principle, appeals, and, to a certain extent, resolutions, should be dismissed from consideration, for as far as the Portuguese Territories were concerned the time for resolutions was over: their effect had proved to be extremely limited. The delegation of Italy felt, likewise, that measures such as the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Portugal, the expulsion of Portuguese citizens or firms from the territory of Member States, and embargoes on Portuguese trade also fell, to a large extent, within the category of verbal measures. No pressure, no threats, no friendly advice could induce an obstinate country to change its policy. Nor did the delegation of Italy think that the Committee should contemplate a solution of the problem of the Portuguese Territories by means of a revolution of their indigenous populations; that would represent a flagrant denial of all human solidarity, and would be tantamount to admitting the complete failure of the United Nations in a field in which it had hitherto made great contributions to the peaceful development of political relationships among the peoples of the world. All efforts should therefore be directed to finding a new way of solving the problem.

169. In the course of the last session of the General Assembly, something which was highly encouraging had occurred, namely, the move to establish a United Nations presence in Angola and Mozambique, which had received substantial support, and which the delegation of Italy, like the representative of Uruguay, considered to be a brave attempt in the right direction. The delegation of Italy was deeply convinced that the Portuguese authorities would before long realize that their present colonial policy was not in their best interests, that their attitude of non-co-operation with the United Nations could not be maintained, and that when the time came to re-define the relationship between two peoples, a system of freely adopted co-operation was preferable to a régime based on domination on one side and servitude on the other.

170. It was probable that on the conclusion of the general debate the members of the Committee would not yet have agreed on the action to be taken with respect to the Portuguese Territories. It would then be best not to decide on hasty action which might later prove inadequate, but to take several days or weeks to think over the various ideas which had emerged during the debate.

171. The representative of Madagascar said that he had no intention of going yet again over the sad history of the Portuguese colonial policy, which consisted of clinging desperately to outmoded and indefensible formulas. The abrogation in 1951 of the Colonial Act of 1930 had not brought about any of the changes to be desired in the Territories administered by Portugal. The attempt at assimilation was a clumsy manoeuvre aimed at stifling the claims of the peoples of those territories for independence and at enabling Portugal to interpret Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter as it wished and to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations. The Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) had been ignored, as had resolution 1807 (XVII). At a time when the situation in Portuguese Guinea was getting worse, Portugal was proclaiming that harmony reigned in the Portuguese Territories and the Press Release of 4 March 1963 which had been sent to all the Permanent Missions by the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations drew attention to that re-established harmony. If that was really the situation, then why was Portugal allowing only two journalists to visit Mozambique, and why did not it extend permission to visit Mozambique to a delegation from the Special Committee?

172. Such a delegation would mark the presence of the United Nations in the Territories administered by Portugal and the co-operation of Portugal with the Organization. He hoped that Portugal would make a decisive move by accepting a delegation nominated by the Committee. The delegation of Madagascar thought that only Portugal's agreement to co-operate would really make it possible to find the concrete measures which the General Assembly had asked the Committee to formulate. The aspirations and claims of the peoples of the territories administered by Portugal were legitimate; it was unthinkable that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the other Portuguese Territories should remain in bondage at a time when other African nations were achieving their independence. Portugal must therefore, as General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) required, undertake negotiations, on the basis of recognition of the right to self-

determination, with the qualified representatives of the political parties inside or outside the Territories with the aim of transferring power to representative, freely-elected political institutions, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). He wished to conclude his statement with a quotation from a book entitled "The Future of the White Man in Black Africa", by Dr. Thomas Patrick Melady, who referred to the disasters which could befall the Portuguese if the movement of the Portuguese Territories towards independence did not take place in an atmosphere of understanding.

173. The representative of Yugoslavia recalled that during the past few years the United Nations had accorded special attention to the question of Portuguese colonies and had been obliged to take a number of steps because of the negative attitude of Portugal and its refusal to co-operate. In 1961 three separate bodies had examined the situation in the Portuguese territories and had submitted reports to the General Assembly, which had adopted resolutions submitted by various delegations, including the Yugoslav delegation. There was thus no need to discuss in detail the position of the peoples of those territories.

174. Since the most recent debate on the subject in the General Assembly, there had been no change in the attitude or the policy of Portugal, whose basic characteristics were, firstly, that Portugal clung to the legal fiction that its colonies were overseas provinces; secondly, it did not accept any obligation under Chapter XI of the Charter and refused to co-operate with the United Nations in that field; thirdly, it had not complied with any of the resolutions of the General Assembly or the Security Council; lastly, it was determined to use all means, and primarily force and oppression, to suppress any movement of the African population for independence. In a word, Portugal was the only colonial Power which had not liberated any of its colonies and which persistently refused even to consider doing so.

175. That being so, it would be natural for the Special Committee to refer the matter to the Security Council, as requested by General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII). The Yugoslav delegation could not see any improvement in the attitude and policy of Portugal and doubted Portugal's readiness and ability to adapt its policy to reality. It was ready, however, to support the suggestions made by the delegations of Ethiopia and Mali and to attempt once more

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to establish contact with the Portuguese Government. The only aim of such contacts and the exchange of views to which they might lead would be the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, since the Committee's terms of reference were not to gather information but to propose concrete measures that would accelerate the liberation of the colonial peoples.

176. In conclusion, he observed that the abandonment by Portugal of the legal fiction of the "overseas provinces" and a manifestation of readiness to co-operate with the United Nations for the purpose of implementing the Declaration were preconditions for the success of any contacts between the Committee and the Government of Portugal.

177. The representative of Venezuela said that he would not dwell upon the facts relating to the question before the Committee, since they had been discussed at length by the Committee and other bodies. Venezuela's position was that the Declaration on the granting of independence should be applied to all colonial territories which still had that status, and hence to the African territories under Portuguese administration. His delegation could not accept the theory that the Portuguese colonies were an integral part of the metropolitan country; moreover, the General Assembly had settled that question in resolution 1541 (XV).

178. The Committee must carry out the task expressly entrusted to it in General Assembly resolution 1810 (XVII), i.e. to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which had not yet attained independence and to propose specific measures for the complete application of the Declaration. The situation in the territories under Portuguese administration had not changed since the General Assembly had examined the Committee's last report. Despite the links between Portugal and Venezuela, Venezuela's attitude had not changed: the colonial system must disappear wherever it still existed and whatever the Power by which it was imposed.

179. In order to carry out its task the Committee must resort to every means at its disposal. It could use diplomatic channels or, as the representative of Mali had said, could try to find means of reaching a friendly agreement. The delegation of Venezuela hoped that other delegations would endorse the suggestions made by the representatives of Uruguay to the effect that the next step should be a friendly

approach to Portugal with a view to sending a mission to Lisbon for the purpose of entering into conversations and subsequently visiting the territories concerned. The delegation of Venezuela hoped that the co-operation of the Portuguese Government would be forthcoming.

180. The representative of Bulgaria emphasized that the Committee had given priority to the territories under Portuguese administration because developments in those territories had become a matter of international concern. The Portuguese Government continued to disregard the aspirations for immediate independence expressed by the peoples of the territories and indeed was simply intensifying its oppressive measures. As was stated in paragraph 405 of the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160), an atmosphere of tension and insecurity pervaded the daily lives of the indigenous inhabitants, the two main reasons for which were a deep and general feeling of dissatisfaction and Portugal's determination to suppress by force all arms or manifestations of political awareness displayed by the people. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration also noted (paragraph 406) that the basic dissatisfaction of the people arose from the essentially colonial relationship the territories had with Portugal, that by imposing Portuguese culture and citizenship on the people Portugal was denying them opportunities for the fulfilment of their own aspirations, and that without a change of attitude on the part of Portugal there could be no peaceful or permanent solution.

181. Portugal, however, stubbornly maintained its claim that its colonies were Portuguese provinces. That was the kernel of the problem and the danger lay in Portugal's insistence that there could be no change in its relationship with its colonies. The Portuguese Government replied to the growing struggle of the people by large-scale military action and violent repressive measures. Fresh troops were constantly being sent to the colonies and thousands of settlers had been organized into civilian militia corps which were taking part in the fight against guerrilla units of the African population. Military supplies from the NATO countries were continually flowing into the territories under Portuguese administration. Nevertheless the national liberation movement was stronger than ever. Portugal's attitude had created a situation which represented a threat to international peace and security and it was the Committee's duty to act accordingly..

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182. General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) noted with deep concern that the policy and acts of the Portuguese Government with regard to the territories under its administration had created a situation which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security and it urged the Portuguese Government to give effect to the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration. Portugal had not, however, taken any of the five steps set forth in that resolution. Indeed, the situation in almost all the Portuguese colonies, far from improving, was becoming more and more explosive. The Bulgarian delegation considered that in the circumstances the Committee had no choice but to comply with paragraph 8 of the resolution and to request the Security Council to examine the question and to take appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with the decisions of the General Assembly. At the same time the Committee might request the Portuguese Government to allow a visiting mission to enter the Portuguese territories in Africa and should ask it to reply as soon as possible.

183. The Bulgarian delegation considered that the appeals for patience made by certain delegations were unjustified, in view of the fact that for some six years the efforts made by the United Nations to induce the Portuguese Government to change its policy towards its colonies had produced no results. The Committee should be guided not by the wishes of the Portuguese Government but by the decisions of the General Assembly and by concern for the fate of the millions of people suffering under Portuguese colonial oppression.

184. Lastly, he expressed his delegation's concern that operative paragraph 7 of resolution 1807 (XVII) was not being implemented. Portugal was being supplied with arms in great quantities by its allies. The Committee should make recommendations on the subject with a view to securing the effective implementation of that paragraph.

185. The representative of the United States of America said that mankind stood at one of the crossroads of history and that a change was beginning to appear in the world, after centuries of suffering. The Committee could not simply be a passive witness of that great historical wave, but should endeavour in some measure to channel the peoples' aspirations to freedom by enabling them to

exercise self-determination. The Committee's task was to help bring the colonial era to a peaceful end and to replace the paternalism of the past with political relationships based on consent. The United Nations had done much towards accelerating the pace of decolonization during the past decade and he was happy to be working in the Committee with the representatives of countries which had emerged from colonialism to independence under United Nations auspices.

186. The Committee could make a most constructive contribution to the course of history by actively seeking, in a spirit of co-operation and pragmatism, to utilize the tools of diplomacy in the search for practical solutions to specific problems. In order to achieve that end, the Committee should, above all, avoid entanglement in the cold war, for the problems of the colonial peoples were already sufficiently complicated without their difficulties being compounded by extraneous ideological considerations. The United States delegation intended to avoid polemics uttered purely for political advantage and would co-operate with the Committee in working for constructive and timely progress by the means envisaged and permitted by the Charter. Towards that objective the United States would co-operate with the Committee and other United Nations bodies. But it could not countenance or support interventionist or expansionist aspirations or predatory attacks by one State against the territory of another in the name of self-determination.

187. With respect to the subject immediately before the Committee, he did not propose to dwell on the conditions prevailing in the various territories under Portuguese administration but would merely restate the principles which underlay his delegation's position towards those territories.

188. Firstly, the General Assembly had found that the territories in question were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter and that it was therefore incumbent on the Administering Power to submit information on those territories; the United States delegation had therefore called upon Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations in the consideration of those reports. Secondly, the United States delegation, convinced that the principle of self-determination was applicable to all the

territories being considered by the Committee, had continuously supported the measures envisaged since the Security Council had first considered Angola and had called upon Portugal to recognize that principle and to accelerate the pace of the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants of the Portuguese territories. Thirdly, the United States delegation was of the opinion that the United Nations and the Committee should pursue their efforts along the creative paths of peace, difficult though they often seemed, for it was convinced that the Committee would not draw nearer to the desired results by abandoning the means of diplomacy in favour of methods of coercion. Lastly, the United States delegation, from the beginning, had been convinced that the United Nations, which was dedicated to peace and justice, could play a useful and constructive role for the benefit of the people in the Portuguese territories; it had accordingly endeavoured to use the United Nations machinery in a constructive sense in order to achieve progress towards peaceful and just solutions.

189. Because of its long friendship with Portugal, the United States Government had been unstinting in its efforts to help to achieve the basic objective underlying the United Nations resolutions on the Portuguese territories, that of self-determination. When United Nations machinery had been established to deal with some aspects of that principle, the United States had suggested ways in which the Government of Portugal could offer its co-operation. Thus, after protracted consultations with Portugal, the United States had proposed that United Nations representatives should be sent to Angola and Mozambique to report back to the United Nations on conditions in those territories. Portugal had been prepared to co-operate with those representatives. That proposal, if adopted, would have enabled United Nations representatives to pay their first official visit to the Portuguese territories and that could have been a significant step towards a peaceful settlement. The United States had finally decided not to press its proposal to a vote, since several delegations had made it known that they were not prepared to accept the draft resolution without amendments which would have prevented its application. Nevertheless, the progress which that proposal had represented should not be simply abandoned.



Undoubtedly other means could be devised, but the Committee should try to take decisions which could be carried out rather than choose solutions which, while perhaps more ideal, were impracticable.

190. The United States delegation was convinced that renewed efforts along the lines of a United Nations representative or any other practical proposal, would offer a better chance of progress than extreme measures. In his view, it was only by tenacious and realistic perseverance towards peaceful settlement that the Committee would contribute to the well-being and the political freedom of the people in the territories under Portuguese administration.

191. The representative of the Ivory Coast observed that, already in other bodies, his delegation had denounced the Portuguese Government's absurd colonial policy and shown that its legal basis was fallacious. The policy of assimilation was doomed to failure; in fact, it had led to no positive results in the countries where the experiment had been tried. Portugal had taken no steps to emancipate the peoples of the territories under its sway and had thus eliminated even the most remote possibility of success. The timid reforms of 1961 had brought about no change in the situation of those peoples. The time had come when Portugal must realize that the era of domination of one people by another was over and that henceforth relationships between peoples would be based on friendship and free and equal co-operation. Portugal must reconsider its position and lead its territories peacefully to independence, as had been emphasized by the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast on 15 January 1962 in speaking before that country's National Assembly.

192. The problem of the total liberation of Africa would be one of the chief concerns of African Heads of State at their next meeting. If Portugal was relying on the division of Africa into groups to perpetuate its domination, it was making a great mistake, since African solidarity could not fail to come into play. Portugal must profit by the lessons of recent history, which had shown the futility of colonial wars and the inevitability of the victory of nationalism, and take the necessary steps to establish conditions which would enable its territories to achieve complete independence. Portugal should enter into negotiations with the representatives of its territories with a view to the achievement of self-government and independence and the transfer of the powers it held to freely-elected institutions.

193. In the absence of voluntary action by Portugal, various steps should be taken. The first would be for the countries friendly to Portugal to refuse to supply it with arms, since Portugal was using them in one way or another to perpetuate its domination. The second, which has been proposed by the representative of Uruguay, was to establish conditions which would enable conversations to be held between the United Nations and Portugal on the subject of the future of the territories, and between Portugal and the representatives of the territories under its administration. The Committee should therefore repeat the proposal made by the United States during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly that two delegations should be sent, one to Angola and one to Mozambique, with a request that the mission should be extended to all the Portuguese territories. The mission would study political, economic and social conditions in the territories and the aspirations of their peoples. The members of the mission should be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee, in consultation with the President of the General Assembly and all delegations, including that of Portugal. The Portuguese Government should undertake to comply with any decision reached by the General Assembly following its examination of the mission's report. Portugal should refrain from any military action during the mission's visit to the territories and until the General Assembly had examined the mission's report. In that way, it could demonstrate its desire to co-operate with the General Assembly.

194. In conclusion, he said that, in his delegation's view, recourse to the Security Council was, to say the least, premature at the present stage and the Committee should carefully study the proposal of the delegation of Uruguay and exhaust all the possibilities it offered before considering taking any other step.

195. The representative of the United Kingdom said that, since the sixteenth session, the General Assembly and some of its subsidiary organs had devoted more time to the question of Portugal's overseas territories than to any other colonial matters. The Committee had now taken on that task at the point reached by the resolutions of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly; the essence of the Committee's work should be not to drive Portugal into isolation by adopting drastic recommendations, but to enable the peoples of the territories

concerned to progress towards the objectives laid down in the Charter. Some of the statements made during the Committee's debates seemed to suggest that there was nothing that the Committee could usefully do and that the situation in the territories administered by Portugal was hopeless. It was true that the report of the Special Committee on Angola gave a sombre picture of the situation in that territory, for which the chosen policies of the Portuguese Government were in large measure responsible, but the United Kingdom delegation did not consider the situation to be hopeless and thought that it might yet be possible to persuade Portugal to alter its policy. In his delegation's opinion, the United Nations should recognize that, although Article 73 of the Charter applied to those territories, the responsibility for the timing of their progress towards self-government was Portugal's and Portugal's alone. The United Kingdom, whose policy towards its dependent territories had been very different from that followed by Portugal, felt that it was its duty to speak on the subject in the interests of bringing about a reasonable solution. It hoped that the Portuguese Government would see the wisdom of accepting a policy by which the peoples of its territories could choose eventual self-government or independence, since that was the only policy that could offer the prospect of a settlement which would be in the interests of Portugal itself as well as of the territories concerned. Other countries had a duty to facilitate a smooth transition towards that solution.

196. He believed that he could detect certain promising signs in Portugal's attitude. Portugal did not transmit information on its territories; on the other hand, as a Member of the United Nations, it had a steady record of co-operation with the specialized agencies. In particular, Portugal and the Portuguese territories played an active part in the affairs of the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Labour Organisation, as the reports of those Organizations, which could not be ignored, gave proof. Nor should it be forgotten that, during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, the Portuguese Government had been ready to accept the idea of a visit by one or two international rapporteurs to Angola and Mozambique. That readiness had been a substantial step towards fuller co-operation between Portugal and the

United Nations. It was regrettable that the idea in its original form had appeared unacceptable to a number of delegations, which had wished to modify it in such a way as to make it quite different and unacceptable to the Portuguese Government.

197. The United Kingdom delegation was opposed to the adoption of arbitrary recommendations which sought only to condemn. It would, on the contrary, support ideas which were constructive and practical and which stood some chance of being accepted by all concerned. It hoped that renewed efforts would be made to establish contact along the lines of the initiative suggested at the seventeenth session of the Assembly.

198. The representative of Syria said that his delegation had already made known its views on the tragic situation arising from Portugal's refusal to honour its obligations under the Charter. His delegation believed that freedom was the inalienable right of all peoples and that no pretext could justify their being deprived of that right. The Portuguese thesis that Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the other smaller Portuguese territories were overseas provinces of Portugal was so unconvincing that even the allies of that country had rejected it. The General Assembly, in its resolution 1542 (XV), had decided that those territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories and that Portugal, as a Member of the United Nations, was in duty bound to fulfil the obligations laid upon it by Chapter XI of the Charter. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples had had no influence on the Portuguese attitude. As was well known, Portugal had persisted in its policy of repression in Angola and was continuing to deny the most elementary rights to the peoples of its other colonies.

199. Faced with such a tragic situation, the Committee would be justified in acting on the basis of resolution 1810 (XVII), which asked the Committee to apprise the Security Council of any developments in the territories concerned which might threaten international peace.

200. He considered, however, that before having recourse to the Security Council, the Committee should examine the suggestion made by the representatives of Ethiopia and Mali, and endorsed by several delegations, that it should try once again to obtain Portugal's co-operation in realizing the objectives enshrined in the Declaration. The Committee should not limit itself to adopting resolutions and making recommendations to the General Assembly; diplomatic efforts and negotiations would help to elucidate the complex issues and would facilitate the Committee's task. Believing that the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible, his delegation earnestly wished to see Portugal embark on a peaceful and constructive course, the only course worthy of a Member State of the United Nations. The Syrian delegation urged Portugal's friends and allies to spare no effort to persuade that country that it was futile to oppose the march of history; it had no doubt that the peoples of the Portuguese colonies would sooner or later achieve the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations.

201. The representative of Australia said that the Australian position on the Portuguese overseas territories was well known. Australia was profoundly disturbed by the professed objectives and by the practices of Portugal in the administration of those territories, and considered that they fell far short of fulfilment of the obligations laid down in the Charter. His Government believed - and had so informed the Portuguese Government directly - that the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter ought to be observed and that the peoples of the Portuguese territories ought to be given the opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination.

202. He had been impressed by the sober and realistic statements that had been made by many of his colleagues, and he had noted a good deal of agreement among members of the Committee on the desirability of opening up a line of communication between the United Nations and the Portuguese Government in order to persuade the latter to make some movement towards the views embodied in resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee.

203. In his delegation's view, there were reasons to hope for some such movement on Portugal's part, reasons which had already been stated by several delegations, including those of Uruguay and the United Kingdom. As to the method to be adopted, the Australian delegation considered that the objective being clearly defined, the Committee should not tie its hands too firmly at the present stage. He realized that, in situations where feelings were justifiably strong, there was a desire for discussions to lead to immediate action; in the present case, however, results might be more certain if the Committee hastened slowly. It would perhaps therefore be wise, after the conclusion of the general debate, to take stock and see whether some suggestion capable of achieving a practical result would emerge. In following such a course the Committee would be acting in accordance with the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter, which provided that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount.

204. The representative of Chile said that his delegation had already expressed, in the Security Council and in other bodies, its profound regret that Portugal was refusing to co-operate and was ignoring United Nations resolutions, thus rendering an already critical situation still more delicate. Chile had always cherished the hope that Portugal would follow the realistic example of those Administering Powers which, today, were co-operating with their former colonies in a friendly

spirit. He could not share Portugal's views on the status of its territories, which, as the General Assembly had declared, came within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter. He therefore considered that the Committee should continue to seek means of bringing about the speedy and complete implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

205. In a situation which was becoming increasingly distressing, his delegation had been particularly happy to note the constructive aspects of the statements made by the representatives of Uruguay, Cambodia and Mali. The Chilean delegation did not consider that the Special Committee should necessarily adopt any new resolutions at the present stage. By carrying out the measures envisaged in resolution 1807 (XVII), the Committee would be simultaneously giving effect to the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). The Chilean delegation also supported the suggestions made on 7 March by the Uruguayan representative. Like that representative and the representative of Mali, his delegation considered that direct conversations with Lisbon should be encouraged and would support any proposals to that effect, since it felt that all means of persuasion should be exhausted before more extreme measures were envisaged. It was notable that nearly all members of the Committee were agreed that an attempt should first be made to obtain Portugal's co-operation. He hoped that the Portuguese Government would not reject the opportunity thus offered to it.

206. The representative of India said that his delegation had already frequently placed on record its views on the deplorable conditions in which the peoples lived in the territories administered by Portugal, where they were subjected to a ruthless regime. Portugal's colonial policies were universally condemned, and the Indian delegation was confident that the United Nations would pursue its endeavours to the end. The Organization had rejected the fallacious and absurd argument that the Portuguese colonies were "overseas provinces". No one was deceived by that argument, nor by the so-called reforms introduced by the Portuguese Government. Those window-dressing reforms only served to prove that reforms had been needed and that the declarations made by Portugal before 1961 were false. It was in the statements of the petitioners that the true state of affairs was revealed.

207. The Committee's task was to see that resolution 1514 (XV) was implemented without delay. To that end, the Assembly had adopted several resolutions,

including resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1819 (XVII). Various Committees, and the Security Council itself, had studied the situation in detail. Portugal, however, had ignored the many resolutions which had been passed. His delegation had already stated that, if Portugal shut the door to change, the latter would come through force and bloodshed. Everything should be done to avoid that situation. The peoples of the territories under Portuguese administration would find little consolation in the knowledge that yet another resolution had been adopted condemning Portugal's policies. Those peoples were hoping for positive action.

208. His delegation, keeping in mind the serious developments which were taking place in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other Portuguese colonies, had listened with interest to the suggestions made by the representatives of Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Tanganyika and Uruguay concerning the desirability of attempting to establish contacts with Portugal. The form to be taken by such contacts was, in his view, a matter of detail which could be worked out.

209. With regard to the proposal made by the United States at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, he recalled that his delegation, while aware of the limitations of the proposal, had recognized that it would be a small step in the right direction and would not in any way prejudice any earlier or subsequent decisions of the United Nations with regard to the Portuguese colonies. His delegation had noted with interest the Tunisian representative's statement at the 127th meeting that it might be useful to take up the proposal within the context of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the Committee's own work. No one had any illusions regarding the attitude of the Portuguese Government, which had only recently refused an invitation to be present during the Committee's debates. The Committee must not, however, lay itself open to the accusation of neglecting to exhaust all avenues before taking the matter to the Security Council. It would therefore be desirable to attempt to establish contacts with the Portuguese Government, an endeavour in which Portugal's friends could play a helpful role. If, however, the response of Portugal was negative, his delegation agreed with the Ethiopian representative that the attention of the Security Council should be drawn to the matter urgently; that would be in keeping with the letter and spirit of resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1810 (XVII).



D. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

210. At the 130th meeting on 15 March 1963, the Chairman stated that, following the conclusion of the general debate, conversations had taken place between delegations concerning certain intermediate steps to be taken with regard to this question and that, as a result, a consensus of views had been reached. The Chairman outlined the consensus as follows:

"Delegations have expressed their views on the territories under Portuguese administration with respect to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), and from the general debate the following seems to be the general view. The majority of the members of the Special Committee have felt, despite the refusal of the Portuguese Government to co-operate with respect to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples that new efforts should be made to obtain the co-operation of the Portuguese Government. It was therefore proposed that measures should be taken for a visiting group of the Committee to contact the Portuguese Government with a view to undertaking consultations within the framework of the terms of reference of the Committee.

"Some delegations that favoured the immediate resort to the Security Council have agreed with this proposal as an intermediate step. Without prejudging any later decision that may be taken on the matter, the Special Committee has, at the present stage of its work, entrusted the Chairman with the duty of proposing to the Portuguese Government, in the most appropriate way, the establishment of contact with a visiting group of the Committee which might in due course go to Lisbon. The nomination of delegations to form this visiting group has been left to the discretion of the Chairman. However, in order to enable the Special Committee to carry out its task fully and properly, the visiting group will have to report at the latest on 30 March 1963."

211. On 18 March, the Chairman met with the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations and conveyed to him the views of the Special Committee as expressed in the consensus and requested the co-operation of the Portuguese

Government. This meeting was followed by a letter<sup>33/</sup> from the Chairman dated 20 March to the Permanent Representative containing relevant extracts from the consensus.

212. The Portuguese Government replied, by letter dated 31 March 1963, from the Permanent Representative of Portugal.<sup>34/</sup> The letter reiterated the position of the Government, stating, inter alia, that it would be impossible for the Government to admit the legitimacy of the Special Committee's activities or to recognize its competence in matters which, for the Portuguese Government, fell within its internal jurisdiction. The letter stated that the Portuguese Government was determined to maintain its position and had restated it so that there could be no possibility of misunderstanding. The Portuguese Government was prepared to take up two allegations which had been made in the Special Committee; the refusal to transmit information and the threat to international peace and security that Portugal was said to constitute. Portugal's refusal to transmit information, the letter continued, must be understood as applying only in connexion with the manner in which some delegations were seeking to apply Article 73 of the Charter, since outside that context the Portuguese Government had never refused to supply the fullest and most complete information concerning its overseas territories. The letter recalled that the Portuguese Government had accepted the proposal made by the United States at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly that two special rapporteurs investigate conditions in two Portuguese Territories in Africa. With regard to the allegation that Portugal constituted a threat to international peace and security, which it considered to be without foundation and made for purely demagogic and propaganda purposes, the Portuguese Government emphasized that it must be concluded that such a threat, at a time when there was no apparent threat to world peace, could only exist in relation to territories or countries adjoining the Portuguese overseas provinces, which would have a more legitimate interest than other countries in verifying the source of the allegation. It accordingly suggested that meetings

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<sup>33/</sup> A/AC.109/36 and Corr.1.

<sup>34/</sup> Ibid.

be held between the Portuguese Government and the Governments of countries or territories which are contiguous to the Portuguese overseas provinces. Such meetings should be for the purpose of considering matters of common interest, providing an opportunity for the clarification of certain points which did not appear to be sufficiently well understood and securing mutual guarantees of good neighbourly relations. The Portuguese Government was prepared to negotiate non-aggression agreements with the Governments of countries and territories contiguous to the Portuguese overseas provinces that so desired, and thus put an end to an allegation which it considered without the slightest foundation. The letter further stated that Portugal did not rule out provisions calling for co-operation in all fields of mutual interest.

213. At the 141st meeting, on 3 April 1963, following the receipt of the reply of the Portuguese Government, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia and Yugoslavia submitted a joint draft resolution,<sup>35/</sup> subsequently revised,<sup>36/</sup> whereby the Special Committee would, inter alia, decide to draw the immediate attention of the Security Council to the situation with a view to its taking appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure compliance by Portugal with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

214. The representative of Ethiopia in introducing the joint draft resolution recalled that at the beginning of its discussion of the territories under Portuguese administration, the Special Committee had invited the Portuguese Government to participate in its work, without the right to vote. The Portuguese Government's reply had been negative. The Committee had then tried to establish contact with the Portuguese Government and had suspended its discussions on the question for over fifteen days in order to allow that Government time to decide whether it would agree to receive a sub-committee of the Special Committee. Portugal's reply was again negative and it contained a number of irrelevant matters. For example, the Portuguese Government complained that the General

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<sup>35/</sup> A/AC.109/L.46.

<sup>36/</sup> A/AC.109/L.46/Rev.1.

Assembly had not agreed to the United States proposal that one or two rapporteurs should be sent to the Portuguese territories and it pointed out that those rapporteurs would have been able to collect information. It had been because many delegations, including that of Ethiopia, had considered that there was no need to collect information, since the situation in the Portuguese territories was well known, that they had persuaded the United States delegation to withdraw its proposal. Moreover, Portugal had wanted to dictate the choice of those rapporteurs in such a way as to exclude any representative of the Asian or African countries. What was needed was to send a sub-committee composed of representatives of the various groups to ensure that the resolutions on the Portuguese territories and resolution 1514 (XV) on colonialism were implemented. 215. Instead of stating frankly that it did not accept the Committee's proposal, the Portuguese Government had said that it was ready to hold talks with the Governments of the territories or States adjoining the Portuguese territories, since the threat it was alleged to constitute to international peace and security could only exist specifically in relation to those territories and countries. Its reply was therefore as discourteous as it was irrelevant.

216. Faced by that refusal to co-operate, he and the other sponsors of the draft resolution thought that there could no longer be any question of being patient and trying to be accomodating, as some delegations had recommended. If it wanted to discharge its obligations, the Committee had no choice but to send the matter to the authority which had more power and influence than the Committee, namely, the Security Council.

217. The representative of Tanganyika said that his delegation had read the reply from the Portuguese Government with disappointment and indignation. Once again that Government had shown its contempt for the General Assembly and for public opinion. As for the Portuguese Government's offer to conclude agreements with neighbouring African States, that was no more than a hypocritical manoeuvre. The free African States would sign agreements with the African territories at present under Portuguese domination when those territories had attained freedom and independence. Portugal was intensifying its campaign of tyranny and extermination in those territories. It had recently violated Tanganyikan air space.

218. Having given Portugal its last chance, the Committee had no choice but to take the serious question of the Portuguese territories before the highest organs of the United Nations. He hoped that the draft resolution, of which his delegation was a sponsor, would be supported by all members of the Committee.

219. The representative of Mali said that his delegation had hoped that the establishment of contact with Portugal would have marked the beginning of fruitful co-operation on the basis of resolution 1514 (XV). Portugal's reply to the letter dated 20 March 1963 from the Chairman had destroyed any hope of such co-operation. Moreover, that reply was a grave insult to the Committee and the United Nations. Salazar's fascist regime went so far as to question the legitimacy of the Special Committee and its competence in the field of decolonization.

220. After Portugal's rejection of innumerable General Assembly resolutions, and its most recent refusal to co-operate, the only course left was to take the matter to the Security Council, in view of the intensified repression being exercised in the Portuguese colonies. It was with that in view that his delegation and twelve others had drawn up the draft resolution.

221. The representative of Sierra Leone said that his delegation, which was a sponsor of the draft resolution, fully supported the Ethiopian representative's remarks. The Committee had indeed explored all possibilities concerning the question of the Portuguese territories. Although the Portuguese Government had consistently disregarded the many resolutions which had been adopted, the Committee had decided to give Portugal one last chance to take steps to remedy a situation which all members of the Committee considered alarming. The Portuguese Government had not only rejected all ideas of compromise but had adopted a defiant attitude towards the Committee.

222. That was why his delegation supported the provision of the draft resolution that the question of the Portuguese territories should be referred to the Security Council. He drew particular attention to operative paragraph 4, which requested the Security Council to take appropriate measures, "including sanctions". Indeed, some countries, including Sierral Leone, had already taken sanctions against Portugal.

223. The members of the Committee could not be accused of being impatient. They could not adopt a passive attitude after Portugal's reply; they must make their position clear and they could do so in the roll-call vote on the draft resolution. He hoped that all members of the Committee would vote in favour of the draft resolution.

224. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation wholeheartedly supported the draft resolution and considered that its provisions were fully justified by the disturbing developments in the territories under Portuguese administration and by the continued refusal of the Portuguese Government to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the General Assembly resolutions regarding the Portuguese territories. The Bulgarian delegation considered that only decisive measures on the part of the United Nations could change the attitude of the Portuguese Government.

225. The representative of Yugoslavia recalled that his delegation had agreed to fresh efforts being made to secure the co-operation of the Portuguese Government. Since Portugal had once again refused to co-operate with the United Nations and was again defying it, the Yugoslav delegation was of the opinion that the matter should be brought before the Security Council, as was proposed in the draft resolution, of which the Yugoslav delegation was a sponsor.

226. The representative of Poland said that he would vote in favour of the draft resolution. The intransigence of Portugal and its defiance of the United Nations Charter had been affirmed once more in the reply which the Portuguese Government had just made to the communication from the Chairman of the Committee. The Polish delegation shared the indignation felt by the African delegations at the manner in which the Portuguese Government had replied to the message of good will from the Committee. Although it had had no illusions, the Polish delegation had agreed to the suggestion that a mission should be sent to Lisbon to seek the co-operation of Portugal in the peaceful implementation of the Declaration on colonialism. Since every means of persuasion had been exhausted, the time had come for the United Nations to use the means which it had at its disposal for the implementation of its decisions.

227. In view of the intolerable situation in Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, the United Nations was in duty bound to take steps urgently to meet the mounting threat to peace and security presented by that situation. The Polish delegation agreed with the sponsors of the draft resolution that the most appropriate way of giving effect to the General Assembly's recommendations was to bring the matter before the Security Council without delay. Portugal's refusal to meet its obligations was a challenge not only to the African States but to the entire international community and to the United Nations.

228. The representative of Syria said that his delegation was profoundly disappointed that Portugal had replied in such a disdainful manner to the Committee's sincere desire for co-operation. In so doing Portugal had revealed its true intentions and had shown that it was blind to the realities of life and history. It was the duty of the Committee to work with determination to discharge the task which had been assigned to it by the General Assembly and he was certain that the United Nations would prove worthy of the confidence placed in it by the peoples who were at present struggling for their liberation.

229. The representative of Cambodia said that his delegation had on several occasions appealed to the good sense of Portugal to grant the right of self-determination to the peoples under its administration. Portugal had not shown good sense in its reply and it now behoved the Committee to bring the matter, which was a threat to world security, before the Security Council. Cambodia supported the African peoples which were demanding liberty and independence.

230. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that although his delegation had been very sceptical about the likelihood of a favourable reply, it had agreed that another attempt should be made to induce the Portuguese Government to listen to the voice of reason.

231. The draft resolution provided for serious measures to be taken by the United Nations under the Charter. The USSR delegation was sure that the members of the Committee realized that the measures recommended were fully justified. The text had the support of the USSR delegation and would have its full backing in the Security Council. The outcome, however, would depend also on the delegations of other countries, in particular the United States and the

United Kingdom. He hoped that all the members of the Committee would support the draft resolution and would realize that every possible step should be taken to achieve a solution of the problem, which was of such vital importance for Africa and for the peace of the whole world.

232. The representative of Uruguay said that his delegation regretted the Portuguese Government's refusal, in its reply to the Chairman's letter, to enter into contact with the Committee and to recognize its competence or the validity of the United Nations resolutions on the subject. The way of negotiation was thus closed to the Committee.

233. With regard to the draft resolution he said that in so far as that draft resolution was in accordance with the Committee's terms of reference and the terms of previous resolutions, his delegation would vote in favour of it. He had, however, two reservations to make. Firstly, his delegation did not think that the wording "Noting with indignation" at the beginning of the sixth preambular paragraph was in keeping with United Nations usage or was necessary in a text which was already sufficiently severe in tone; he would therefore like those words to be changed. Secondly, his delegation was of the opinion that the Security Council was not only the sole body competent to decide whether there really was a threat to peace but the only body competent to decide upon the steps to be taken in case of need. That principle was at the very root of the balance between the powers of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly. Article 11 (3) of the United Nations Charter stated that "The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security", while Article 99 gave the Secretary-General the same right. In paragraph 8 (d) of resolution 1810 (XVII), the General Assembly had invited the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of any developments in the colonial territories which might threaten international peace and security. In each case, however, all that was possible was to report concrete facts to the Security Council, not to make recommendations on the way in which the problems might be solved. While, therefore, it would vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, the delegation of Uruguay would vote against the words "including sanctions".



234. The representative of Venezuela stated that he would vote in favour of the draft resolution; his delegation approved the substance of the draft resolution but would like the sponsors to make a few changes in the text which would improve it. The first change concerned the fifth preambular paragraph: a Member State could not be obliged to appear before the Committee and it would be better to use some such phrase as "attend its meetings". Furthermore, he would like the words "Noting with indignation" in the sixth preambular paragraph to be replaced with some such wording as "Noting with regret", since United Nations bodies should not allow themselves to be carried away by passion but should act calmly in all circumstances. Finally, he considered that the words "including sanctions" in operative paragraph 4 should be deleted, since it was the Security Council's responsibility to decide what steps should be taken. The deletion of those words would not affect the substance of the draft resolution, for the words already appeared in the resolutions referred to in operative paragraph 4. In any event, the Venezuelan delegation's vote in favour of the draft resolution, if its present wording was retained, would be cast on the understanding that nothing in the draft resolution restricted in the slightest degree the freedom of action of the Security Council, which was the body competent to decide, in the light of the pertinent facts and circumstances, when international peace was endangered and what measures should be taken if that was the case.

235. The representative of Denmark said that the Government and people of Denmark were strongly opposed to the policy followed by the Government of Portugal. He did not consider, however, that there was any reason why an effective resolution should not be worded in very sober terms. It was for that reason that he appealed to the sponsors to modify the words "Condemns very strongly the attitude of Portugal" at the beginning of operative paragraph 3, since a condemnation was in itself a serious thing.

236. The representative of Chile agreed with the observations made by the representatives of Uruguay and Venezuela and the requests which they had made to the sponsors of the draft resolution. With regard to the words, "including sanctions", her delegation considered that the Security Council had exclusive competence in that matter. Even if the words in question were retained, however, she would vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

237. The representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation had grave reservations on the advisability of the recommendation that the question of Portugal's overseas territories should be brought before the Security Council.

He did not question that the General Assembly or a Committee set up by the Assembly had the right to say that the time had come for a particular question to be debated by the Security Council. The draft resolution, however, seemed to him to go much further than that. Not only did it affirm that a threat to peace existed, but it implied that the situation in all the territories with which the Committee was concerned presented that threat and, by mentioning sanctions, it suggested in advance what the Security Council should do about it.

238. The United Kingdom delegation had never concealed its disapproval of certain aspects of the Portuguese Government's policy in its overseas territories. Nevertheless, recommendations of the kind made in the draft resolution, particularly the mention of sanctions, seemed to go beyond what was required by the facts as known to his delegation and it would therefore be unable to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

239. The opinion had been expressed in the Committee that the letter from the Permanent Representative of Portugal was entirely negative, but it seemed to the United Kingdom delegation that the suggestion made in paragraphs 9 and 10 of the letter was worthy of further exploration and that the Committee should not ignore it, thus breaking off the dialogue, without some further elucidation of what the Government of Portugal had in mind.

240. The representative of the United States of America recalled that he had already set forth the policy of the United States with regard to the Portuguese territories. The United States considered that the principle of self-determination was applicable to those territories. It had continuously supported the measures contemplated since the Security Council had dealt with Angola, and it felt that Portugal should recognize the principle of self-determination and apply it in its territories.

241. His delegation had been deeply disappointed by the Portuguese Government's reply to the letter from the Committee's Chairman. The Committee had been moderate in its approach and sincerely desirous of establishing a basis for communication with the Portuguese authorities which would encourage a peaceful solution of the problem. The United States Government for its part had urged the Portuguese Government to co-operate with the Committee. Portugal's reply had made no reference to the possibility of the exercise of the right of self-determination

in the Portuguese territories, nor had it indicated any willingness, even reserving Portugal's own position, to accept the principle of consultation with the Committee. 242. While his delegation could understand the reaction - as expressed in the draft resolution before the Committee - of certain other delegations to Portugal's reply, it feared that the reaction might be premature in some respects, for paragraph 9 of the Portuguese reply might by implication offer a possibility of discussions on the matter with the Secretary-General. It might have been advisable to try to ascertain what the Portuguese Government had had in mind with respect to that paragraph.

243. His delegation would be unable to support the second preambular paragraph, which suggested that the situation, in all the Portuguese territories, constituted a threat to international peace and security, a contention not borne out by the facts. It would be more accurate to say that the situation, in some of the Portuguese territories, was such that its continuation would be likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation would abstain on the next to last preambular paragraph, which was inaccurate. The reference in that paragraph should be, not to earlier resolutions, but to the Chairman's letter, which simply invited the Government of Portugal, in deliberately vague terms, "to make contact with a visiting group of the Committee".

244. His delegation would vote in favour of operative paragraphs 1 and 2. It would abstain on paragraph 3, since the word "condemns" was one which in its opinion should be used only in the last resort. It would have been able to vote in favour of that paragraph if a word such as "deplores" had been used. It would vote against operative paragraph 4, as the sponsors had not seen fit to delete the reference to sanctions. His delegation had been opposed to the application of sanctions in earlier cases of a similar nature. It considered that the United Nations should be used as an instrument of diplomacy and for the mobilization of world opinion in support of just causes rather than as an instrument of coercion.

245. As it was in sympathy with the attitude reflected in the draft resolution, his delegation would not vote against the text as a whole. However, the serious objections which it had enumerated would prevent it from casting a favourable vote, and it would therefore be obliged to abstain.

246. The sponsors of the thirteen-Power revised draft resolution, at the request of the representative of Venezuela, modified the fifth preambular paragraph, which read: "Deploring the refusal of the Government of Portugal to accept the invitation ..... to appear before it", by substituting the words "to attend its meetings" for the words "to appear before it". They also accepted a suggestion by the representative of Uruguay to replace the words "Noting with indignation" by the words "Noting with regret" in the sixth preambular paragraph referring to the "rejection by the Portuguese Government to receive a Sub-Committee to discuss the implementation of all resolutions relative to Portuguese territories". They felt unable to accept a modification, sought by the representative of Denmark, to the words "Condemns very strongly" in operative paragraph 3 of the revised draft resolution with reference to the attitude of Portugal. They were also unable to accept the deletion of the words "including sanctions" in the fourth operative paragraph drawing the attention of the Security Council to the situation.
247. The representative of Australia, in explaining his vote, said that it seemed to his delegation that the draft resolution had had two aims. The first had been to express the feeling of the Committee in the light of the Portuguese Government's refusal to engage in a dialogue with it. In that sense the draft resolution had on the whole been acceptable to his delegation, with the exception of operative paragraph 3, where a question of wording had obliged it to abstain. His delegation was grateful to the sponsors of the draft resolution for having altered the wording on certain other points, which had very nearly made it possible for the Committee to express its feelings unanimously.
248. In the second place, the draft resolution had advocated certain measures, namely, recourse to the Security Council and the application of sanctions. His delegation had been unable to support such recommendations, partly for constitutional reasons and partly because it felt that all the possibilities of opening up communication with the Portuguese Government in an effort to solve the problem had not yet been exhausted. In its opinion, there were other means of attaining that end than those recommended in the draft resolution.
249. He wishes to stress that his delegation's abstention in the voting on the text as a whole should not be taken as an indication of any lack of sympathy with the concern felt by the sponsors of the draft resolution. It too was concerned at the present situation in the Portuguese territories and hoped that something positive would still emerge from the Committee's discussions.

250. The revised joint draft resolution, as further revised orally, was voted upon at the 142nd meeting of the Special Committee on 4 April 1963. The voting was as follows:

The first preambular paragraph was approved by 23 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The second preambular paragraph was approved by 19 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The third preambular paragraph was approved unanimously.

The fourth preambular paragraph was approved by 22 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The fifth preambular paragraph was approved by 23 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The sixth preambular paragraph was approved by 23 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The seventh preambular paragraph was approved by 19 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 was approved by 23 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Operative paragraph 2 was approved by 23 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Operative paragraph 3 was approved by 19 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The words "including sanctions" in operative paragraph 4 were approved by a roll-call vote of 16 to 8, with no abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Chile, Denmark, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: None.

Operative paragraph 4 as a whole was approved by 16 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 5 was approved by 19 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The revised draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 19 to none, with 5 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Bulgaria, Cambodia, Chile, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Denmark, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

251. The resolution thus adopted by the Special Committee with respect to the Territories under Portuguese Administration reads as follows:

The Special Committee,

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, 1699 (XVI) of 19 December 1961, 1742 (XVI) of 30 January 1962, 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962 and 1819 (XVII) of 18 December 1962,

Having regard to the fact that the General Assembly in resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 noted with concern that the policy and acts of the Portuguese Government with regard to the territories under its administration have created a situation which constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security and that in resolution 1819 (XVII) of 18 December 1962 it expressed the conviction that the colonial war being carried on by the Government of Portugal in Angola, the violation by that Government of the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961,<sup>37/</sup> its refusal to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and its continuous refusal to implement resolutions 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, 1603 (XV) of 20 April 1961, 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961 and 1742 (XVI) of 30 January 1962, constitute a source of international conflict and tension as well as a serious threat to world peace and security,

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<sup>37/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

Having considered the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration in the context of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Recalling that the General Assembly asked the Special Committee in paragraph 8 (d) of its resolution 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962 "to apprise the Security Council of any development in these territories which may threaten international peace and security",

Deploring the refusal of the Government of Portugal to accept the invitation of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples to attend its meetings,

Noting with regret the rejection by the Government of Portugal to receive a Sub-Committee of the Special Committee to discuss the implementation of all resolutions relative to Portuguese territories, in particular resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Recalling particularly that in paragraph 8 of resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 the General Assembly requested the Security Council "in case the Portuguese Government should refuse to comply with the present resolution and previous General Assembly resolutions on this question, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State", and that in paragraph 9 of resolution 1819 (XVII) of 18 December 1962 it requested the Security Council "to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure Portugal's compliance with the present resolution and with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council",

1. Notes with deep regret and great concern the continued refusal of the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions relating to the territories under its administration; and

2. Notes further that the Government of Portugal has not only taken no steps to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, but, on the contrary, has continued its repressive measures against the indigenous population by the use of military and other forces;

3. Condemns very strongly the attitude of Portugal as contrary to its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations;

4. Decides therefore to draw the immediate attention of the Security Council to the present situation with the view to its taking appropriate measures, including sanctions, in terms of paragraph 8 of the General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and paragraph 9 of the General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII) of 18 December 1962, to secure compliance by Portugal of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the immediate attention of the Security Council and to transmit to the Council the records of the debate on this question in the Special Committee.

252. By letter dated 5 April 1963, the Secretary-General brought this resolution and the records of the debate on the question to the attention of the Security Council. 38/

